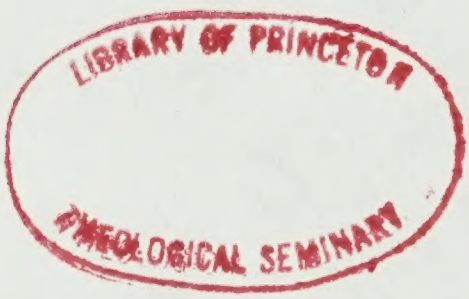

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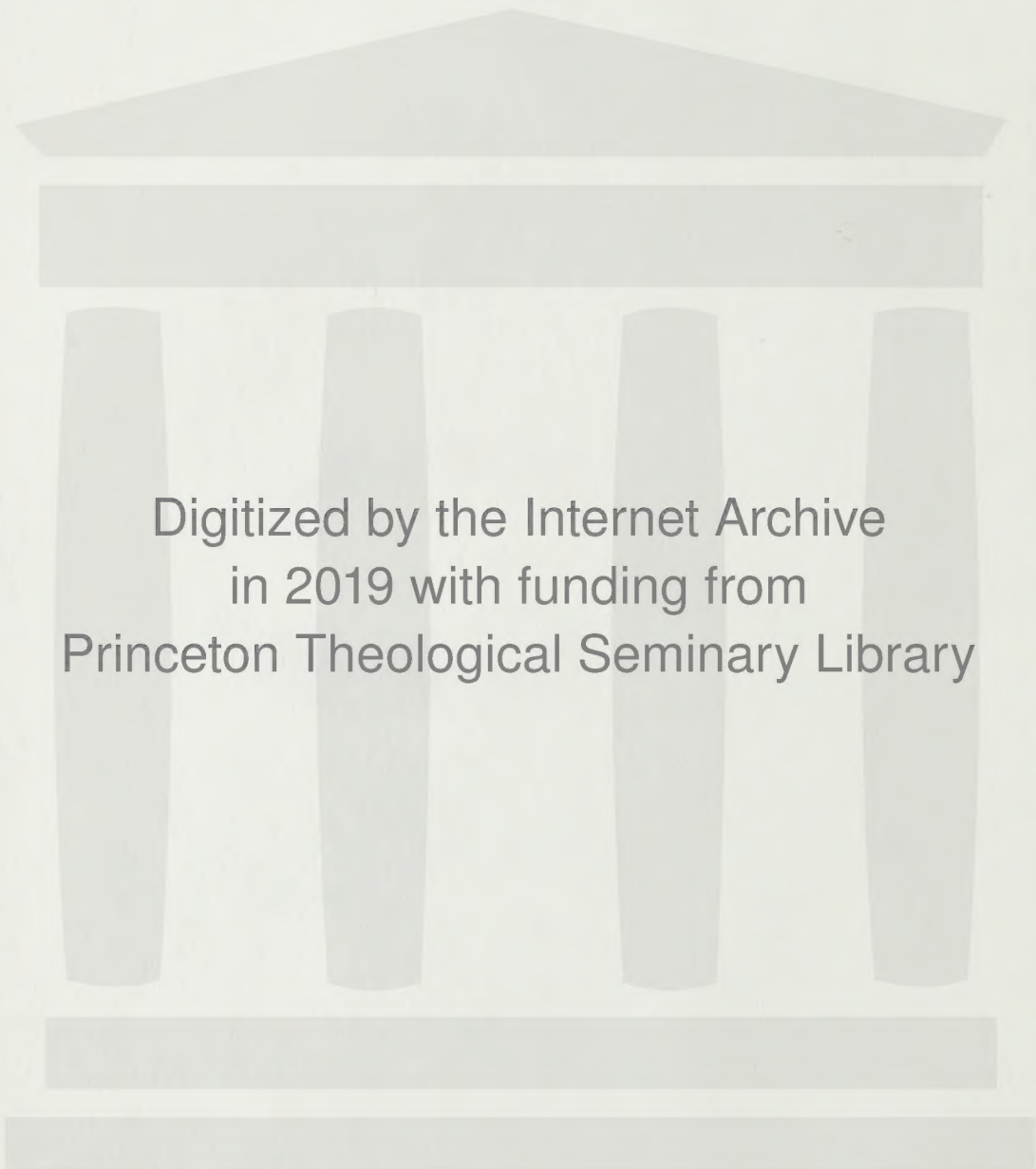
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THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN CONFESSIONS

NEW TESTAMENT TOOLS AND STUDIES

EDITED BY

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VOLUME V

GRAND RAPIDS 3, MICHIGAN
Wm. B. EERDMANS
1963

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN CONFESSIONS

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BY

VERNON H. NEUFELD, Th.D.
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Wm. B. EERDMANS
1963

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To

my beloved wife, Ruth
and our two sons, Ramon and Howard

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PREFACE

The author's interest in the problem of the earliest Christian confessions received its initial stimulus during the 1956-57 academic year at Princeton Theological Seminary when he prepared a report for the New Testament seminar on the subject, "*Kyrios* in the Letters of Paul." The investigation and ideas embodied in that paper were later developed and greatly expanded in a doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Primitive Christian *Homologia* According to the New Testament," which was submitted in 1960 to the Department of Biblical Studies at Princeton Theological Seminary. The present volume represents the substance of the dissertation, which, it may be added, was awarded a prize by the Christian Research Foundation.

The author is greatly indebted to Professor Bruce M. Metzger for the stimulus provided in his lectures and in the seminar discussions, for his personal counsel as advisor during the writing of the dissertation, and above all for his encouragement in the arduous work of condensing the manuscript for publication.

Vernon H. Neufeld

Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas

Reformation Day, 1962

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

Act. Thom.	Acts of Thomas
Apoc. Abr.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Aris.	Aristophanes
Plu.	*Plutus*
Equi.	*Equites*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
Bar.	Baruch
Barn.	Barnabas
Basil	St. Basil of Caesarea
Epis.	*Epistolae*
B.-D.	Blass-Debrunner (see bibliography)
Beginnings	*The Beginnings of Christianity*, eds. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (see bibliography)
BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden* (9 vols., 1895-1937)
Bib	*Biblica*
BibSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
CathBibQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CDC	Cairo Genizah Document of the Damascus Covenanters
C. H.	*Corpus Hermeticum*
ChQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
Cic.	Cicero
Fin.	*De Finibus*
Att.	*Epistolae ad Atticum*
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria
Strom.	*Stromata*
ConNeo	*Coniectanea Neotestamentica*
DCG	*A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed. James Hastings (2 vols., New York, 1911-1912)
Did.	Didache
Dio Cas.	Dio Cassius
Dio. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog.	Diognetus
Dion. Alex.	Dionysius of Alexandria
Epis.	*Epistolae*
Ep. Aris.	Epistle of Aristeas
Epic.	Epictetus
Diss.	*Dissertationes*
Epiph.	Epiphanius
Haer.	*Adversus Haereses*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (13 vols., New York, 1908-1926)
Eus.	Eusebius
His. Ec. (*H. E.*)	*Historia Ecclesiastica*

EvK	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexicon*, eds. H. Brunotte and O. Weber (Göttingen, 1956 ff.)
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
Expos	*The Expositor*
ExT	*Expository Times*
Gos. Pet.	Gospel of Peter
Hdt.	Herodotus
Herm.	The Shepherd of Hermas
Man.	*Mandate*
Sim.	*Similitude*
Vis.	*Vision*
Hermes	*Hermes, Zeitschrift für klassischen Philologie*
Hip.	Hippolytus
Phil.	*Philosophumena*
Hist. Aug.	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
Had.	*Hadrian*
Sep. Sev.	*Septimius Severus*
Hom.	Homer
Ody.	*Odyssey*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
Ign.	Ignatius of Antioch
Eph.	*Ephesians*
Mag.	*Magnesians*
Phila.	*Philadelphians*
Poly.	*Polycarp*
Rom.	*Romans*
Smy.	*Smyrnaeans*
Tral.	*Trallians*
Iren.	Irenaeus
Adv. Haer.	*Adversus Haereses*
Isocr.	Isocrates
Bus.	*Busiris*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
Jos.	Josephus
Ant.	*Antiquitates Judaicae*
Bel.	*De Bello Judaico*
Ap.	*Contra Apionem*
JRel	*Journal of Religion*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jub.	Jubilees
Just.	Justin Martyr
Apol.	*Apologia*
Trypho	*Diologus cum Tryphone*
Juv.	Juvenal
Sat.	*Satirae*
KTW	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Stuttgart, 1933 ff.)
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library
Luc.	Lucian
Laps.	*pro Lapsu inter Salutandem*
Mar.	Marcion
Mar. Poly.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
MPT	*Monatschrift für Pastoraltheologie*

NJDT	*Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OGIS	*Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger (2 vols., Leipzig, 1903-1905)
Orig.	Origen
Cel.	*Contra Celsum*
P. Amh.	*The Amherst Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (2 vols., London, 1900-1901)
Pap.	Papias
Pauly-Wissowa	A. F. von Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1894 ff.)
P. Eleph.	*Elephantine Papyri*, ed. O. Rubensohn (Berlin, 1907)
P. Fay.	*Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell, *et al.* (London, 1900)
P. Gen.	*Les papyrus de Genève*, ed. J. Nicole (Geneva, 1906)
P. Hib.	*The Hibeh Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London and Boston, 1906)
Phil.	Philo
De Dec.	*De Decalogo*
De Spec. Leg.	*De Specialibus Legibus*
Deus Imm.	*Quod Deus sit immutabilis*
Leg. All.	*Legum allegoriarum*
Plant.	*De plantatione*
Pin.	Pindar
Isth.	*Isthmia*
Pla.	Plato
Cra.	*Cratylus*
Cri.	*Crito*
Gor.	*Gorgias*
Sym.	*Symposium*
Th.	*Theaetetus*
P. Leip.	*Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, ed. L. Mitteis (Leipzig, 1906)
Plu.	Plutarch
Aem.	*Aemilius Paulus*
Poly.	Polycarp
Polyb.	Polybius
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell, *et al.* (London, 1898-1952)
P. Petr.	*The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. J. P. Mahaffy (3 vols., Dublin, 1891-1905)
P. Rain.	*Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Griechische Texte.* ed. C. Wessely (Vienna, 1895)
Ps. Clem. Rec.	*Pseudo Clementine Recognitions*
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
P. Strass.	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, ed. F. Preisigke (5 vols., Strassburg, 1915-1945)
P. Tebt.	*The Tebtunis Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell, *et al.* (3 vols., London and New York, 1902-1938)

PTR	*Princeton Theological Review*
1QS	Manual of Discipline
R.	Rabbi
RE	*Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed. A. Hauck (24 vols., Leipzig, 1896-1913)
RevBén	*Revue Bénédictine*
RevBib	*Revue Biblique*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (5 vols., Tübingen, 1927-1932)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RSV	Revised Standard Version (1952)
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*
SAB	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Sir.	Sirach
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
Suet.	Suetonius
Claud.	*Claudius*
Dom.	*Domitian*
Tib.	*Tiberius*
Sus.	Susanna
Tac.	Tacitus
Hist.	*Histories*
Tert.	Tertullian
Apol.	*Apology*
Carne	*De carne Christi*
Haer.	*De praescriptione haereticorum*
Virg.	*De velandis Virginibus*
ThBl	*Theologische Blätter*
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
Thuc.	Thucydides
Tob.	Tobit
UJE	*The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. I. Landman (10 vols., New York, 1939-43)
v. l.	*varia lectio* (variant reading)
Wis.	Wisdom of Solomon
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*
ZST	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

CHAPTER I

THE LITERATURE AND THE PROBLEM

During the first part of the twentieth century, New Testament scholars adopted a new method for the study of early Christian literature, that commonly called form-criticism.[1] After devoting attention primarily to the synoptic gospels,[2] scholars subsequently examined the book of Acts and the epistles in order to analyze the forms of tradition contained therein which antedate the extant literary documents. Valuable studies of the primitive Christian *kerygma*, catechism, *didache*, and liturgy resulted from the application of this method of research.[3] In view of the amount of effort which has been concentrated on this general area, it is indeed surprising that thus far no thorough investigation has been devoted exclusively to the primitive Christian *homologia* (confession).[4] The present study, it is hoped, will help to meet this lack.

A. STUDIES IN THE EARLY CREEDS[5]

Two lines of research in recent years have a bearing upon the present subject: studies in form-criticism already mentioned and

[1] The precise dating of the beginning of form-criticism is not possible since many of the eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars contributed to its development; see E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* (Giessen, 1924). The year 1919 is generally regarded as the date when the form-critical method began to be applied to the New Testament (see the next footnote).

[2] The earliest works were K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (Berlin, 1919); M. Dibelius, *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1919); R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen, 1921).

[3] For a discussion of these studies, see the survey of literature which follows on pp. 7-10 below.

[4] The work which most nearly fills the need is O. Cullmann, *Les premières confessions de foi chrétiennes* (Paris, 1943; E. T. *The Earliest Christian Confessions* [London, 1949]); on its limitations, see the discussion in the survey of literature below.

[5] For surveys of the studies made on the creeds, see W. Sanday, "Recent Research on the History of the Creed," *JTS*, 1 (1899-1900), pp. 3-22; *idem*, "Further Research on the History of the Creed," *JTS*, 3 (1902), pp. 1-21; P. Feine, *Die Gestalt des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Zeit des Neuen Testament* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 5-40; and, most comprehensively, J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age. Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale.* I "Les Recherches sur les origines du Symbole des Apôtres" (Brussels and Paris, 1946; rev. ed. 1949).

studies on the history of the early creeds. The latter research, being concerned primarily with the established creeds of the church, was motivated and controlled from this later perspective; to the extent, however, that certain scholars were concerned with the origin, structure, and development of the creeds, some of their studies made significant contributions relevant to the analysis of the earliest *homologia*.

It was not until near the close of the nineteenth century that historians began to examine critically the creeds of the church, though some important work had been done prior to this. Among earlier scholars one should mention the contributions of J. Vos (1642) and J. Ussher (1647) concerning the Old Roman symbol which preceded the Apostles' Creed, the emphasis laid by G. Lessing (1778) and his followers (F. Delbrück, 1826, and N. F. S. Grundtvig, 1832) on the *regula fidei* as the basis upon which the church's creeds developed, and the work of A. Hahn (1842) in collecting the many creeds of the ancient church. The latter's collection of evidence was surpassed by the researches of C. P. Caspari,[1] who worked through the early ecclesiastical literature, assembling countless citations and excerpts from the creeds of the church. Subsequently Hahn's work was revised by his son, G. L. Hahn, who produced a thesaurus of source materials which remains useful to this day.[2]

It was inevitable that research should become more analytical and critical in the study of the creed. This interest was stimulated, perhaps more than by any other single event, by the *Apostolikumstreit* which was precipitated by A. Harnack in 1892.[3] Though the debate was basically theological in nature (for Harnack stressed the late formulation of the Apostles' Creed and denied the importance of certain of its parts, as, for example, the Virgin Birth), the altercation was fruitful in directing attention to the New Testament and its relationship to the later, established creeds.

[1] *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel* (3 vols., Christiania, 1866-1875).

[2] *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (3 ed., Breslau, 1897). See also Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., New York, 1877), who includes modern creeds and confessions of faith.

[3] *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis; eine geschichtlicher Bericht nebst einem Nachwort* (Berlin, 1892); this pamphlet passed through some twenty-five editions in the course of one year. For the story of the debate, see Agnes von Zahn-Harnack, *Der Apostolikumstreit des Jahres 1892 und seine Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* (Marburg, 1950).

W. Bornemann[1] followed Harnack in emphasizing the importance of the church-political situation in the formulation of the later symbol, maintaining that the New Testament discloses no trace of a fixed, general formula of confession. Th. Zahn,[2] though recognizing the difficulty of finding sources in the New Testament for the content of the symbol of the second century, nevertheless suggested that a baptismal formula was developed as early as Paul's first missionary journey, finding evidence for this in I Tim. 6.11 ff.; II Tim. 2.2, 8; 3.10; 4.1. When the controversy reached English soil, H. B. Swete[3] defended the Apostles' Creed as a valid part of the catechism and liturgy of the primitive church. L. Lemme[4] took what was essentially a mediating position in tracing two lines of thought that came together in the Apostles' Creed, a Christological one which was historical in character, and a Trinitarian one which had a dogmatic stamp. Roman Catholic scholars also entered into the discussion: S. Baeumer[5] maintained that the old Roman creed which preceded the Apostles' Creed was a combination of the command of Jesus to baptize in the name of the Trinity (Mt. 28.19) and the preaching of St. Peter, and C. Blume[6] attempted to guard the apostolicity of the creed on dogmatic grounds.

So the problem of origins became a vital one. At times the discussion centered on the relationship between the Eastern type of symbol extant in the Nicene Creed and the Western type exemplified by the Apostles' Creed. Some argued that the two types were distinctly separate, being related only through a common root (Caspari, Zahn, Sanday); others held that the Western was the earlier one, having enjoyed an existence of a century and a half or more before the Eastern creed was developed from it (Harnack, Kattenbusch[7]). But, more importantly, beyond the question of such relationships, the discussion was concerned with the sources and origin of *the Creed*, usually taken as the old Roman symbol extant early in the second century. Even Harnack, who empha-

[1] *Der Streit um das Apostolikum* (Magdeburg, 1893).
[2] *Das apostolische Symbol* (Erlangen-Leipzig, 1893).
[3] *The Apostles' Creed: Its Relation to Primitive Christianity* (London, 1894).
[4] "Die Wurzeln des Taufsymbols," *NJDT*, 2 (1893), pp. 3-53.
[5] *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. Seine Geschichte und sein Inhalt* (Mainz, 1893).
[6] *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis* (Freiburg, 1893).
[7] F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1894-1900).

sized the cleavage between the established creed and the early Christian testimony, found important evidence in early literature of the beginnings of tradition which in part was related to the creed.[1] The work of F. Kattenbusch,[2] which remains the most complete and satisfying of those dealing with the Apostles' Creed, followed Harnack in maintaining the dogmatic character and origin of the creed. C. Clemen [3] drew attention to the existence of certain Christological statements in early Christian literature; of primary importance to him was I Pet. 3.18 ff., which he found to be in essence the second article of the old Roman creed, pertaining to Christ's death, descent, resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of God.

But these and other early studies [4] regarding the origin of the creed were restricted by their underlying presupposition, namely, that the type of creed expressed by the Eastern and Western symbols was normative and therefore its pattern should be sought in the earlier Christian literature. When the allusions and statements in the New Testament and other early literature referring to "the creed" were gathered together and set in order, it was supposed that the creed of a particular period had been recovered. A. Seeberg [5] and P. Feine,[6] for example, thought that they were able to reconstruct the primitive creed from various statements found in the New Testament.

Although other work was done on the creed, particularly on its structure [7] and history,[8] the most fruitful studies for the present investigation resulted from the new interest in the early development of the creed. This point of view saw the developed creed as

[1] Appendix to Hahn[3], *op. cit.*, pp. 364-390.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] "Die Anfänge eines Symbols im neuen Testament," *NZK*, 6 (1895), pp. 323-336.

[4] E.g. A. E. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds and the Te Deum* (London, 1899); J. Kunze, *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis und das Neue Testament* (Berlin 1911).

[5] *Christi Person und Werk nach der Lehre seiner Jünger* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 3 f.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.

[7] H. Jordan, *Rhythmische Prosa in der altchristlichen lateinischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 35-38; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 263-276.

[8] In addition to Burn and Kunze, *opp. cit.*, see E. von Dobschütz, *Das Apostolikum in biblisch-theologischer Beleuchtung* (Giessen, 1932); H. Dörries, *Das Bekenntnis in der Geschichte der Kirche* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1947); J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950).

the evolutionary result of earlier beginnings. Even during the *Apostolikumstreit* following 1892, J. Haussleiter,[1] for example, found the origin of the creed in a baptismal formula associated with the work of the apostolic mission. In the beginning—so the argument ran—there was only a single article, the confession of Jesus as the Son of God; on heathen soil a second article was added, for the proclamation of the Son of God demanded a reference to God the Almighty as well; contact with second century heresies produced the third article, the true testimony given by the Holy Spirit leading to the inclusion of the third Person of the Trinity in the creed. The same year (1893), Lemme [2] suggested the dual origin of the creed in a Trinitarian and a Christological formula, although his view was the opposite of Haussleiter's in holding that the Christological confession was a development on Hellenistic soil while the Trinitarian was Jewish in origin. [3]

Some years later a new theory was proposed by K. Holl,[4] who conjectured that the earliest form of the second article of the Creed contained only "His only begotten Son" and "our Lord," and that from these two designations the fuller form of the article developed by the addition to the former of the affirmation, "born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary," and to the latter, "crucified under Pontius Pilate, buried, the third day rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, seated at the right hand of the Father, whence he comes to judge the living and the dead." Harnack [5] immediately concluded that the oldest form of the Roman symbol did not contain the long Christological article, but rather three equally balanced articles each containing three elements. H. Lietzmann [6] also supported the theory, pointing out that the nine-point creed is preserved in the literature of the Egyptian church, and that the

[1] *Zur Vorgeschichte des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses* (Munich, 1893).

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] In a later work, "Trinitarischer Glaube und Christusbekenntnis in der alten Kirche," *BFTC*, 25 (1920), pp. 339-462, Haussleiter also emphasized two roots of the old Roman creed in the New Testament, the command to baptize in Mt. 28 and the historical statements regarding the person and work of Christ.

[4] "Zur Auslegung des 2. Artikels des sogenannten apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses," *SAB* (1919), pp. 2-11.

[5] "Zur Abhandlung des Herrn Holl: 'Zur Auslegung des 2. Artikels des sogenannten apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses,' " *SAB* (1919), pp. 112-116.

[6] "Die Urform des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses," *SAB* (1919), pp. 269-274.

Egyptian form, formerly taken as an abbreviation of the Roman symbol, is the more primitive.[1]

While the foregoing studies relating to the creeds of Christendom anticipate to some extent the investigation of the primitive Christian *homologia*, they for the most part were hampered by the circumstance that they moved from the established creed back to the New Testament. Some looked to the New Testament for proof of the apostolic origin of the creed (particularly the Roman Catholic scholars Baeumer and Blume).[2] Others searched the New Testament for phrases, articles, and ideas already extant in the creed (Kattenbusch, Feine), or tried to prove (Feine) or disprove (Lemme, Haussleiter, R. Seeberg) its Trinitarian origin. Looking to the New Testament from the perspective of the creed some sought to construct a primitive creed from various phrases found there (A. Seeberg, R. Seeberg, Feine). With the exception of Lietzmann, who stressed the liturgical origin of the tradition, practically all scholars found in baptism the cause and life-situation for the beginning and development of the confession (Harnack and Clemen were alone in positing a more complex situation).

But regardless of these limitations, the credal studies mentioned above provided positive results, primarily relating to the origin, structure, and development of the creed in the primitive church. Of no small importance was the work of Harnack, particularly in detecting various kinds of tradition in the Christian literature,[3] the various forms or *schemata* in which they occur,[4] the several names given them,[5] and the various occasions which gave rise to them,[6] although he did not develop these findings in any detail nor mention the *homologia* apart from the baptism confession. An important advance was made by Clemen, Kattenbusch, and Feine

[1] Lietzmann developed his hypothesis still further in his contribution, "Die Anfänge des Glaubensbekenntnisses," *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunde A. von Harnack* (Tübingen, 1921), pp. 226-242.

[2] See also the earlier work by A. Krawutsky, *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis* (Breslau, 1872).

[3] In Hahn[3], *op. cit.*, p. 364; besides the baptism confession, he mentions liturgical pieces, exorcism formulas, faith and practice rules, and historical summaries.

[4] *Loc. cit.*: the chronological report, the chronological report with short proofs, the *schema* of fulfilled prophecy, the *schema* of κατὰ σάρκα — κατὰ πνεῦμα, the *schema* of first and second advent, the *schema* of καταβάς — ἀναβάς.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 365: faith, rule of faith, κήρυγμα, truth, rule of truth, μάθημα, παράδοσις, παραδοθεὶς λόγος.

[6] *Loc. cit.*: baptism, proclamation, apologetics, and polemics.

in isolating *pericopai* of creed-like tradition in the New Testament and other early Christian literature, examples of which are found in I Cor. 15.1 ff.; Rom. 1.3 f.; I Tim. 3.16; I Tim. 6.12 f.; Phil. 2.5 ff.; and I Pet. 3.18 ff. Thus the study moved into the period of pre-literary Christianity, and the relation of these analyses to form-criticism becomes obvious.

Despite the notable advances made in research on the early creeds, summarized above, many important questions still remain unanswered. There is need for the careful definition of and sharp distinction among such forms as the confession, *kerygma*, catechism, *paradosis*, liturgy, etc., all of which names are variously given to the early tradition. Furthermore, there is room for a more adequate definition of the life situation which produced, preserved, and developed this tradition.

B. FORM-CRITICAL STUDIES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A work of first rank, and one which preceded the application of *Formgeschichte* proper to the New Testament, is A. Seeberg's suggestive analysis of the early Christian catechism.[1] Seeberg believed that soon after the death of Jesus the Christian community developed a catechism of great significance for the total life of the church. Dealing briefly with the ethico-moral teaching contained in this catechism, Seeberg investigated the "formula of faith" (*Glaubensformel*) which he found, with some variation, in the several books of the New Testament and which constituted part of this catechism. The formula was used in the church both as a preaching-formula and a faith-formula (*Predigt- und Glaubensformel*) and as an instruction-formula and a confession-formula (*Unterrichts- und Bekenntnisformel*). Going beyond a consideration of catechetical material alone, Seeberg made it clear that he was dealing with several kinds and forms of primitive tradition used in the proclamation, instruction, and baptism of the early church. Thus he was a forerunner of the later studies of the *kerygma* (Dodd), catechism (Carrington, Selwyn), and confession (Cullmann).

A more recent study of considerable importance, similar to Seeberg's in that it embraces the several kinds of pre-literary tradition, is A. M. Hunter's book, *Paul and his Predecessors*.[2] Here

[1] *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit* (Leipzig, 1903).
[2] London, 1940; new revised edition, 1961.

the author traces the several strands of evidence which indicate that Paul inherited a good deal of tradition and theology from the church before him. Important for the present monograph is Hunter's study of the pre-Pauline *paradosis*, the Christian hymns, the words of the Lord, the paraenetic or ethical tradition, the collection of *testimonia*, and particularly the fragments of "quasi-credal and kerygmatic formulae." [1] Though his main purpose was to show the link between Paul and his predecessors, Hunter likewise found evidence for a broad variety of pre-literary material, part of which is related to the problem of the *homologia*.

Certain other studies, following Seeberg's suggestion, have been concerned with the primitive Christian catechism, but more narrowly defined. G. Klein,[2] for example, studied the early Christian document, the *Didache*, as the oldest catechism of Christianity. It is noteworthy that Klein anticipated C. H. Dodd in differentiating between *kerygma* and *didache* in the tradition of the early church. K. Weidinger [3] made a form-critical study of what he considered to be one phase or manifestation of the paraenesis or exhortation, namely, the *Haustafel* or ethical list, as found for example in Col. 3.18 ff. P. Carrington [4] suggested that a specific catechetical pattern lay as a basis for some of the instruction embodied in Colossians, Ephesians, I Peter, James, and Hebrews. The pattern contained the four phrases, "putting off all evil" (*deponentes*), "submit youselves" (*subiecti*), "watch and pray" (*vigilate*), and "resist the devil" (*resistite*).[5] Though the basic order remains constant, the variations in thought and style suggest that the formula was used orally and was preserved in connection with the catechism learned either preceding or following baptism. Acknowledging his debt to Seeberg and Carrington, E. G. Selwyn [6] also studied the catechetical material contained in some of the epistles. Although concerned with "instruction" rather than the creeds or confessions, he nevertheless observed, without elaborating the point, that a primitive *credo* underlies the catechism.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[2] *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur* (Berlin, 1909).

[3] *Die Haustafeln. Ein Stück urchristlicher Paränese* (Leipzig, 1928).

[4] *The Primitive Christian Catechism* (Cambridge, 1940).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-44.

[6] Essay II, "On the Inter-relation of I Peter and other New Testament Epistles," *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London, 1955), pp. 363-466.

C. H. Dodd is well-known for his contribution toward the isolation of the primitive Christian *kerygma.*[1] Primarily investigating the Pauline letters and the speeches in Acts, Dodd reconstructed the message proclaimed by the primitive church. I Cor. 15.1 ff., for example, which he termed the *locus classicus* of the *kerygma,* represents a summary of the gospel which Paul preached, but one which he also received from the Christian community before him. The *kerygma* in fact remains basically consistent throughout the New Testament and thus represents that body of truth proclaimed by the primitive church.[2]

Studies also have been made recently of liturgical pericopes in the New Testament. E. Lohmeyer,[3] for example, analyzed Phil. 2.5-11 finding it to be a liturgical hymn of Aramaic origin. Such an origin, if proved, has an important bearing on the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς (Χριστός) contained in this pericope, both as to its primitiveness in Palestinian Christianity as well as its liturgical setting. Lohmeyer also considered Col. 1.15-20 to be a Christian hymn.[4] Subsequently E. Käsemann [5] published a study of this section of Colossians, which he finds to be of gnostic and non-Christian origin, adapted ultimately as a Christian confession in the liturgy used at baptism. I Tim. 3.16 also has been discussed recently as a hymn-creed of the primitive church.[6]

In relation to the primitive confession or creed itself, three studies of importance should be noted. W. Maurer [7] studied the Christian confession in its relation to the sacraments during the history of the church, from its inception to the close of the Middle Ages. Maurer finds the origin of the confession (*Bekenntnis*) in the sacramental teaching and practice of the church, in baptism,

[1] *The Apostolic Preaching and its Development* (London, 1936).

[2] On the *kerygma,* cf. also D. J. Selby, *The Pre-literary Development of the Kerygma* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University, 1954).

[3] *Kyrios Jesus* (Heidelberg, 1928).

[4] *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (Göttingen, 1930).

[5] "Eine urchristliche Taufliturgie," *Festschrift R. Bultmann zum 65. Geburtstag überreicht* (Stuttgart, 1949), pp. 133-148. The most recent formal analysis of the passage is by James M. Robinson in *JBL,* 76 (1951), pp. 270-287.

[6] H. A. Blair, *A Creed Before the Creeds* (London, 1955). Cf. also O. R. Wilson, *A Study of the Early Christian Credal Hymn of I Timothy 3 : 16* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation; Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Ky., 1954).

[7] *Bekenntnis und Sakrament. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der christlichen Konfession* (Berlin, 1939).

worship, and the eucharist. Significant is his emphasis that in the cultus of the church the *homologia* as an act (baptism, the Lord's Supper, praise) and as a verbal acclamation or acknowledgment were bound inextricably together.[1] Consequently the confession took on the importance of "communion" or oneness (*Communio-charakter*), and thus inevitably led to its becoming the rule of faith and life for orthodoxy.[2]

In his work on the theology of the New Testament, E. Stauffer [3] has a section on the creeds of the primitive church in which he treats the beginnings of dogmatic formulas and the Trinitarian creed in the early church. Of importance for the present study is his chapter on the use of these formulas in the church, the situation which produced them, how they first appeared in the practice of the church, and the circumstances of their ultimate adoption; equally important is the chapter on Christological formulas, their origin, content, and nature. Moreover, his emphasis upon these formulas as being "incarnational" in character supplies an insight lacking in other studies.

Finally, consideration must be given to the work of O. Cullmann.[4] His discussion of the causes giving rise to the confessions, in which he points out the complexity and multiplicity of the circumstances, is more satisfying than the one-sided tendency of earliar scholars who emphasized only baptism. Perhaps most pertinent is Cullmann's attempt to reduce the confessions to the primitive core which underlies them all. This, he argues, is the two-fold confession of Christ as the divine Son of God and as the exalted Lord, and, even behind this, the single declaration of the lordship of Christ. From this basic confession there developed not only the longer Christological formulas, but also the articles which refer to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. Cullmann, however, is mistaken in holding that the primitive confession was *Kyrios Christos*;[5] for Paul, at any rate, it was certainly *Kyrios Jesus*.[6] Cullmann likewise fails to note the importance of the primitive confession *Christos Jesus* (Mk. 8.29; Jn. 9.22; I Jn. 2.22; 5.1).

[1] Pp. 4-12.
[2] Pp. 13-15.
[3] *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1941), E.T. *New Testament Theology* (New York, 1955).
[4] *Op. cit.* (see p. 1, note 4, above).
[5] P. 58 of the Eng. transl.
[6] See pp. 42-51 below.

C. THE PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES

Although some of the studies mentioned above have provided certain positive results and some guidance for the present monograph, they have at the same time raised problems which require further investigation. First, there is the problem of clarification of terminology. Among scholars who have touched upon the subject there is neither consistency of terminology,[1] nor clear differentiation among the several forms of tradition.[2] Secondly, the life situation which produced and/or encouraged the development of the credal material has not been adequately considered. For the most part the confession, as in the earlier studies on the creeds, has been associated with baptism (Seeberg), though some have been aware of a more complex occasion (Cullmann, Stauffer). Nevertheless, the historical and theological situation underlying the origin and development of the confession has not been taken into account. For example, why was *Kyrios Jesus* the *homologia* for Paul and *Christos Jesus* for John? Thirdly, there have been certain striking omissions and neglected areas in the previous studies. The confession *Christos Jesus* has not been sufficiently studied. A most glaring omission is the failure to emphasize the fact that the subject of all the early confessions is *Jesus*.

The present investigation is devoted to a study of the forms of the primitive Christian *homologia* as they are expressed in or suggested by the major documents of the New Testament. Answers will be sought for three basic questions: (1) Is there a form of tradition which may be called Christian *homologia*? (2) If so, what were its early expressions as to content and meaning? (3) What was the function of the *homologia* in the life of the early church?

Before these and other related questions can be answered, however, certain preliminary phases of investigation must be undertaken. It is necessary, first of all, to make a lexical study of the Greek word ὁμολογία and its most important cognates, as well as its synonyms and antonyms. After the linguistic features of the word *homologia* have been explored, attention will be directed to Jewish literature of the period at about the beginning of the Christian era. A study of this material will provide background for

[1] E.g. *catechism* is used quite differently by Seeberg and Carrington.

[2] E.g. I Cor. 15.3 ff. is called "formula of faith" by Seeberg, "kerygma" by Dodd, "paradosis" by Hunter, "Christological formula" by Stauffer, "confession" by Cullmann.

the understanding of the place of a "confession" in contemporary religious life. The main body of the monograph is concerned with the literature of the New Testament. Analyses are made of the letters of Paul, the gospel and letters of John, the synoptic gospels and Acts, and the Pastoral letters, Hebrews, and I Peter. The purpose in analyzing each group is to discover the basic *homologia* of the author or of his particular time and circle, to understand what the *homologia* meant to both the author and his readers, and to determine how it was used in the life of the church.

The method of form-criticism is utilized in the detection, isolation, and identification of primitive tradition in the extant literature and in considering its *Sitz im Leben.* But in order to ascertain what the *homologia* is in the various documents, other methods of research must also be employed. Linguistic evidence supplied by the study of the word ὁμολογία, its cognates, synonyms, and antonyms, will often serve to suggest the content of the *homologia.* At other times, grammatical and syntactical criteria must be utilized, such as ὅτι, or the double accusative, or the infinitive introducing a citation, or relative clauses and participial phrases introducing credal material. When these clues prove to be insufficient or are lacking altogether, the *homologia* may at times be detected by its style, basically as simple Christological statements relating to the person and/or work of Jesus.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE *HOMOLOGIA*

The task of this chapter is two-fold: it is first to define *homologia* as a form or literary type of early Christian tradition, and secondly to clarify the relationship of *homologia* to other forms of Christian tradition. The study at the outset will be lexical in method, seeking the basic as well as the derived meanings of the word ὁμολογία and its cognates in the history of the Greek language during the classical and Hellenistic periods. In addition, consideration will be given to synonymous and antonymous terms which may help to clarify the meaning of the *homologia* as used in the primitive church. *Homologia*, having been defined, will then be compared and contrasted with other forms of Christian tradition, as for example *kerygma* and *didache*.

A. ΌΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ,[1] ITS COGNATES AND ANTONYMS

The basic meaning of ὁμολογεῖν and ὁμολογία, as the component parts of the compound indicate,[2] is that of *agreement*, a connotation which appears to pervade all instances of their use during the classical period. The verb, found since the time of Sophocles and Herodotus, means *to agree* or *correspond with* persons or things,[3] *to agree to, grant*, or *concede* something,[4] and hence *to agree* to a wish or *to promise*[5]. The noun, used since the time

[1] In addition to the lexica, see A. Seeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 1; O. Michel, *KTW*, vol. 5, pp. 199-220; *idem*, "Biblischen Bekennen und Bezeugen," *EvTh*, 2 (1935), pp. 231-245; G. Bornkamm, "'Ομολογία, zur Geschichte eines politischen Begriffes," *Hermes*, 71 (1936), pp. 377-393.

[2] 'Ομο- (*common, same*) and -λογ- (*word*), and thus *common expression, agreement*, or, as verb, *to say the same thing, agree with.*

[3] Hdt. 1.142: ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν, "they have a common language." Thuc. 5.55.1: οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογεῖν, "he said that the words did not agree with the deeds."

[4] Aris. *Plu.* 94: ὁμολογῶ σοι, "I agree with you." *Equi.* 294, ὁμολογῶ κλέπτειν, "I confess that I steal." Pla. *Sym.* 202 b, ὁμολογεῖται γε παρὰ πάντων μέγας θεὸς εἶναι, "it is agreed by all that he [Eros] is a great god" (tr. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[5] Hdt. 2.86: "having agreed (ὁμολογήσαντες) to a price." Pla. *Sym.* 174 a: ὡμολόγησα δ' εἰς τήμερον παρέσεσθαι, "but I agreed to be present today" (tr. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

of Herodotus and Thucydides, means *agreement,*[1] *admission* or *concession,*[2] and, in a forensic or political sense, a *compact, truce,* or *surrender.*[3] An interesting and important use of the noun is found in the Platonic dialogues, where ὁμολογία is used of the premise agreed upon for purposes of discussion,[4] and the dominant connotation is that of "agreement to the declaration" of another.[5]

Ὁμολογεῖν and ὁμολογία occur in the Septuagint some twenty-three times with a wide range of meaning, and translate four different Hebrew words. The verb, with but three exceptions, is found solely in the apocryphal literature. The classical Greek meaning *to admit, acknowledge, agree,* occurs frequently,[6] but also new concepts, such as *to make a vow* [7] or *oath,*[8] at least once *to confess* (sins),[9] and, from the related compound ἐξομολογεῖν (see below), *to give thanks* or *praise.*[10] The noun is used to express a *vow,*[11] *free-will offering,*[12] and once *praise.*[13]

[1] Pla. *Th.* 164 c: πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμολογίας, the agreements based upon the similarity of words. Pla. *Sym.* 187 b: ἡ γὰρ ἁρμονία συμφωνία ἔστί, συμφωνία δὲ ὁμολογία τις, "harmony is consonance, and consonance is a kind of agreement" (tr. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[2] Isocr. *Bus.* 11.44: "an admission of all the crimes charged against him" (tr. L. Van Hook, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[3] Pla. *Th.* 145 c: ἔμμενε τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, to hold to the agreement; Pla. *Cri.* 52 d: παρὰ τὰς ξυθήκας τε καὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας, to go contrary to compacts and agreements; Hdt. 8.52: λόγοι . . . περὶ ὁμολογίας, the terms of surrender.

[4] Pla. *Cri.* 49 d: καὶ ὅρα, ὦ Κρίτων, ταῦτα καθομολογῶν, ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὁμολογῇς, "And be careful, Crito, that you do not, in agreeing to this, agree to something you do not believe" (tr. H. N. Fowler, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*); cf. *Gor.* 488 a, b: "and if you find me in *agreement* with you now, and afterwards failing to do what I *agreed* to, regard me as a regular dunce" (tr. W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[5] See Michel, *KTW,* vol. 5, p. 199.

[6] Esth. 1.1°, Job 40.9 (14) (Heb. יָדָה, which is almost always translated ἐξομολογεῖν); Wis. 18.13; Sus. 14; II Mac. 6.6; IV Mac. 6.34; 9.16; 13.5.

[7] Jer. 51 (44).25 (Heb. נָדַר; always translated εὔχεσθαι or εὐχή, except here).

[8] Ezek. 16.8 (B°; Heb. שְׁבֻעָה; usually translated ὀμνύειν or ὀμνύναι; ὤμοσα is found in A B R); I Mac. 6.61 (א; ὤμοσεν in A א° R).

[9] Sir. 4.26, μὴ αἰσχυνθῇς ὁμολογῆσαι ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις σου; cf. Prov. 28.13 (Aq. Th.; LXX ἐξηγεῖσθαι) and Sus. 14.

[10] I Esdr. 4.60; 5.58(61) (B has εὐλογεῖν); Ps. 98 (99).3 (Sym.; LXX ἐξομολογεῖν).

[11] Lev. 22.18; Jer. 51 (44). 25 (Heb. נֶדֶר; elsewhere almost always translated εὐχή).

[12] Deut. 12.6, 17; Amos 4.5; Ezek. 46.12 (Heb. נְדָבָה; usually translated ἑκούσιος; once it is translated by the adjective ὁμολόγως, *freely,* Hos. 14.5(4)).

[13] I Esdr. 9.8.

It is in its use of the compounds ἐξομολογεῖν and ἐξομολόγησις (less frequently with ἀνθ-) that the Septuagint makes its profound contribution to the semantic development of these words. Used to translate יָדָה[1] the verbs almost always mean *to praise* or *give thanks,* there being more than one hundred instances. Sometimes ἐξομολογεῖν means *to confess openly* or *proclaim,*[2] and a few times it indicates confession of sin.[3] The nouns always mean *praise* or *thanksgiving.*[4]

Thus the word-group receives a strong religious coloring in the Septuagint. The cultic elements of vows, oaths, and offerings are evident, and the relationship to such classical meanings as *agreement, promise,* and *concession* may readily be seen. The prominent use of ἐξομολογεῖν to indicate ideas of *praise* and *thanksgiving* probably arises from the derived meaning *to acknowledge* or *admit openly* (ἐκ), which is also contained in יָדָה. Since the word ἐξομολογεῖν is used so infrequently of confession of sin, it is difficult to accept Reitzenstein's conclusion that the general meaning of *praise* arose from the earlier one of *confession* of sin.[5]

Greek authors following c. 300 B.C. make wide use of the compounds ἐξομολογεῖν and ἀνθομολογεῖν, and, as might be expected, there is some confluence of ideas. Whereas the meaning of ἐξομολογεῖν is basically *to declare openly,* as seen predominantly in the Septuagint, this connotation is now occasionally transferred to ὁμολογεῖν.[6] On the other hand, the simple meaning of ὁμολογεῖν, *to agree* or *admit,* is at times indicated by the compounds.[7] The basic concepts of *agreement, admission,* and *promise* noted in the classical literature continue.

[1] Four times ἐξομολογεῖν is used to translate הָלַל and once הוֹדָה; שָׁבַח twice is translated ἀνθομολογεῖν.

[2] Tob. 12.22; 13.3, ἐξομολογεῖσθε αὐτῷ . . . ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν; and II Mac. 7.37, ἐξομολογήσασθαι διότι μόνος αὐτὸς θεός ἐστιν.

[3] Dan. 9.4; 9.20; Ps. 31(32).5 (Aq.; Heb. יָדָה, LXX ἐξαγορεύειν); I Esdr. 8.88(91); Sir. 20.3(2).

[4] All instances of ἐξομολόγησις, as well as ἀνθομολόγησις (II Esdr. 3.11; Sir. 17.27).

[5] *Das iranische Erlösingsmysterium: religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bonn, 1921), p. 252. O. Michel (*KTW,* vol. 5, p. 202) finds the dual thought of confession of sin and praise to God in several Psalms (e.g. 22, 30, 34), but nowhere is ἐξομολογεῖν used in them for confession of sin. Even where the two thoughts are linked together most closely (I Kg. 8.33, 35), the terminology is different.

[6] E.g. Jos. *Bel.* 7.418, 419, καίσαρα δεσπότην ὁμολογεῖν; *cf.* Luc. *Laps.* 15.

[7] E.g. Polyb. 5.105.2; 15.19.9.

The religious concept of *praise* and *thanksgiving* of ἐξομολογεῖν, found in the Septuagint, continues in Philo,[1] but seems not to have entered in any great degree into non-Jewish or non-Christian literature.[2] The concept of confession of sin, occurring occasionally in the Septuagint, appears also in Josephus,[3] as well as in some inscriptions from the age of the Caesars [4] and in Plutarch.[5]

Two other uses in the literature of the Koine period should be noted. There is, on the one hand, the use made of ὁμολογία and its adverbial form in the literature of the Stoics. Zeno used the phrase τὸ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν, *to live conformably*,[6] while Cleanthes added τῇ φύσει, *to live in conformity to nature*;[7] the Stoic ideal of *conformity* or *harmony* with nature and with oneself is found also in the writings of Cicero,[8] Philo,[9] and Epictetus.[10] In accord with the basic Greek idea of *agreement*, the Stoics used ὁμολογία philosophically of the ideal state to which they aspired and in which they believed the *summum bonum* resided.

The other use is abundantly illustrated in the papyri, where the word-group is used in legal contexts. Ὁμολογία [11] or ὁμολόγημα [12] is a legal *contract* or *agreement*, τὰ ὁμολογούμενα [13] are the items agreed

[1] *Plant.* 135; *Leg. All.* 1.82; 2.95; 3.26.

[2] But cf. Plu. *Aem.* 11, "it was the custom for those who obtained the consulship to return thanks (ἀνθομολογεῖσθαί τινα χάριν)" (tr. B. Perrin, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*); also the phrase χάριστάς σοι ὁμολογήσω in the papyri (P. Amh. 142.19; P. Gen. 47.18; P. Leip. 34.21; P. Oxy. 1.67.22).

[3] *Bel.* 5.415; *Ant.* 8.10.3; 8.4.6.

[4] See F. S. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 40, 48, 53.

[5] See examples in *KTW*, vol. 5, p. 201.

[6] J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 1, p. 45.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[8] *Fin.* 3.621: *summum . . . bonum, cum positum sit in eo quod* ὁμολογία *Stoici, nos appellemus convenientiam,* "the Chief Good . . . consists in what the Stoics term *homologia* and we with your approval may call 'conformity' . . ." (tr. H. Rackham, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[9] *Deus Imm.* 25: "Such a soul [as Moses'] is the most perfect instrument fashioned by nature, the pattern of those which are the work of our hands. And if it be well adjusted, it will produce a symphony the most beautiful in the world, one which has its consummation not in the cadences and tones of melodious sound, but in the consistencies of our life's actions (ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων ἔχει τὸ τέλος)" (tr. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Loeb ed., *ad loc.*).

[10] *Diss.* 3.22.42.

[11] P. Eleph. 2.2; P. Fay. 91.1; P. Tebt. 2.392.23; P. Oxy. 14.1627.20; P. Strass. 1.40.27.

[12] P. Rain. 232.2; P. Oxy. 2.237; 4.732.

[13] BGU 4.1123.11; 1160.7.

to in the contract, ὁ ὁμολογῶν [1] is the *one who writes* or is *partner* in the contract, and ὁ ὁμόλογος [2] is the *laborer* working under a contract. The verb is also used in legal and business correspondence,[3] where, for example, it may mean *to acknowledge* a debt.[4] Although this legal usage is found occasionally in classical writers (Herodotus, Plato), it is chiefly in everyday business and legal documents of the Hellenistic period that this usage becomes exceedingly prominent.

In early Christian literature, as one might have expected, the influence of the Septuagint is apparent in the use of ἐξομολογεῖν—ἐξομολόγησις to express *praise* and *thanks* [5] and, increasingly, the *confession* of sin.[6] A few other classical uses are evident, such as the meanings *to promise*,[7] *admit* or *agree*,[8] and *declare* or *acknowledge openly*.[9] But most importantly, and in most instances, the word-group is utilized specifically to introduce or express a conviction, i.e. the objective *confession* [10] which especially has reference to "confessing Christ or the teaching of his church." [11]

Somewhat surprising is the fact that the noun ὁμολογία is used relatively infrequently in the New Testament.[12] All the examples seem to be references to specific confessions of belief or faith rather than to the act of confessing,[13] for which ὁμολόγησις is a more appropriate word.[14] The verb ὁμολογεῖν is used more frequently, sometimes in an absolute sense of the confession [15] and sometimes

[1] BGU 1.297.22; 339.23.
[2] So Moulton and Milligan, *sub voce*.
[3] P. Hib. 1.30.18; P. Hib. 72.18; P. Petr. 2.13.1, 2; P. Oxy. 10.1255.11.
[4] P. Hib. 97.5; P. Amh. 149.7; 150.17.
[5] Ἐξομολογεῖν: Mt. 11.25; Lk. 10.21; Rom. 14.11; 15.9; I Clem. 26.2; 48.2; 61.3; Barn. 6.16; Herm. *Man.* 10.3.2. Ἐξομολόγησις: Herm. *Sim.* 2.5. Ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι: Lk. 2.38. Ὁμολογεῖν: Heb. 13.15.
[6] Mt. 3.6; Mk. 1.5; Acts 19.18; Jms. 5.16; Did. 4.14; I Clem. 51.3; II Clem. 8.3; Barn. 19.12; Herm. *Vis.* 1.1.3; 3.1.5; 9.23.4. Ὁμολογεῖν is used with this meaning in I Jn. 1.9.
[7] Mt. 14.7; Lk. 22.6 (ἐξομολογεῖν); Acts 7.17.
[8] Jn. 1.20 (in opposition to *deny*); Acts 24.14; Heb. 11.13; Ign. *Mag.* 8.1; Diog. 2.1; Mar. Poly. 6.1; 9.2; 12.1.
[9] Mt. 7.23 (cf. 10.32b // Lk. 12.8b); Acts 23.8; Tit. 1.16; Rev. 3.5.
[10] A. Seeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 1.
[11] Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, *sub voce*.
[12] Six times: II Cor. 9.13; I Tim. 6.12, 13; Heb. 3.1; 4.14; 10.23.
[13] Bauer takes II Cor. 9.13 in an active sense; Grimm-Thayer prefers Heb. 3.1 in this sense.
[14] Herm. *Sim.* 9.28; *cf.* Dio. Sic. 17.68.
[15] Rom. 10.10 στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται, i.e. κύριον Ἰησοῦν (v. 9).

having as its object the word ὁμολογία [1] or μαρτύριον.[2] Occasionally it introduces a statement concerning the person or identification of Jesus as Christ,[3] as Lord,[4] or as the Son of God,[5] or something about him (for example, that he came in the flesh).[6] Ὁμολογεῖν denotes testimony and admission of one's relationship to Christ,[7] a conviction regarding his person,[8] or a specific belief as a test of "orthodoxy." [9] The character of the word as a testimonial appears in the later use of ὁμολογήτης [10] to designate the Christian who has suffered persecution, though not death, for his faith.

The use of the antonyms ἀρνεῖσθαι and ἄρνησις [11] in the New Testament must also be considered in order to understand fully the meaning of *homologia*.[12] Although the words are used in early Christian literature in the classical sense of *to refuse*,[13] *to deny* (say "no"),[14] or *to renounce*,[15] most frequently they refer to the apostasy of believers from the Christian faith. Ἀρνεῖσθαι and the compound ἀπαρνεῖσθαι are used of Peter's [16] and the disciples' denial,[17] and of the Jews' rejection of Christ before Pilate.[18] In other contexts the word is used of the denial of Jesus,[19] of the Lord,[20] of Christ,[21] of the

[1] I Tim. 6.12, ὁμολογεῖν τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν.
[2] Poly. 7.1 b, ὁμολογεῖν τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ.
[3] Jn. 9.22; 12.42; (1.20); cf. I Jn. 2.22.
[4] Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11 (ἐξομολογεῖν).
[5] I Jn. 4.15; cf. 2.23.
[6] I Jn. 4.2, 3; II Jn. 7; Ign. *Smy.* 5.2; Poly. 7.1.
[7] Mt. 10.32 // Lk. 12.8; Herm. *Sim.* 9.28.7; Mar. Poly. 12.1, Πολύκαρπος ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι (cf. II Mac. 6.6, Ἰουδαῖον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι).
[8] Jn. 9.22; Rom. 10.9.
[9] I Jn. 4.2, 3; II Jn. 7; cf. Ign. *Smy.* 7.1, ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
[10] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.12; Eus. *His. Ec.* 5.28.8; Dion. Alex. *Epis.* 1.
[11] On these words see H. Riesenfeld, "The Meaning of the Verb ἀρνεῖσθαι," *ConNeo*, 11 (1947), pp. 207-219; H. Schlier, *KTW*, vol. 1, pp. 468-471.
[12] The antithetical character of the words may be seen in Mt. 10.32, 33; Lk. 12.8, 9; Tit. 1.16; Jn. 1.20; Mar. Poly. 9.2; Herm. *Sim.* 9.28.7.
[13] Heb. 11.24.
[14] Lk. 8.45; 9.23; Acts 4.16.
[15] Tit. 2.12.
[16] Mk. 14.68, 70; ἀπαρνεῖσθαι, Mk. 14.30 f., 72. For a discussion of Peter's denial, see M. Goguel, "Did Peter Deny his Lord?" *HTR*, 25 (1932), pp. 1-27.
[17] Mt. 10.33; ἀπαρνεῖσθαι, Lk. 12.9; cf. II Clem. 3.2, 3.
[18] Acts 3.13, 14.
[19] II Clem. 17.7.
[20] Ign. *Smy.* 5.2; Herm. *Vis.* 3.6.5; *Sim.* 8.8.2; 9.26.6; 9.28.8; Diog. 7.7.
[21] Herm. *Vis.* 2.2.8.

Son,[1] of the Master,[2] and of "our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ." [3] The New Testament also refers to the denial of Christ's name,[4] of God,[5] and of the Christian faith.[6]

Clearly, then, the words in most instances refer to the denial of the Christian's relationship to his Lord. It involves the rejection of Christ and the refusal to admit that one is a Christian; there is obviously a close relationship between denial and apostasy.[7] The setting frequently is that of persecution.[8] But such denial is not merely a verbal rejection; it also involves the life of the person whose activities are inconsistent with his profession, and therefore denial is apparent in deeds as well as words.[9]

It should be observed that both the verb and the noun in most cases refer to the act of denial rather than introduce an explicit belief or formula.[10] The verb generally takes a direct object rather than quoting a direct or indirect statement by means of ὅτι or the infinitive, as is the case with the ὁμολογία-group. The noun always seems to have the active sense,[11] and as a result is an antonym to ὁμολόγησις rather than to ὁμολογία. Therefore, unlike their antonyms, ἀρνεῖσθαι and ἄρνησις normally do not suggest specific formulas or confessions.

If it is valid to assume that an antonym provides a certain amount of coloring to its opposite, then ὁμολογία-ὁμολογεῖν has the decided connotation of open declaration of the Christian's relation to Christ; it means to profess Christ, to acclaim openly one's association with him, to identify oneself as a Christian.[12] Moreover, ὁμολογεῖν contains the idea that the life must be consistent with the profession of a Christian, and the *homologia* is not merely a formula to which one gives verbal assent, but is also that to which one devotes his life in active Christian living.[13] A survey of occur-

[1] I Jn. 2.23. [2] II Pet. 2.1. [3] Jude 4.
[4] Rev. 3.8. [5] Tit. 1.16.
[6] I Tim. 5.8; Rev. 2.13; Mar. Poly. 2.4.
[7] Note the mention of denial and heresy in II Pet. 2.1 and denial and apostasy in Herm. *Sim.* 8.8.2.
[8] Cf. Peter's denial; also Rev. 2.13; Mar. Poly. 9.2; Diog. 7.7.
[9] I Tim. 5.8; Tit. 1.16; Jude 4; II Clem. 3.1; cf. 17.7.
[10] An exception to this is I Jn. 2.22, ὁ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ χριστός, which may be taken as a *homologia* stated negatively; cf. also Ign. *Smy.* 5.2.
[11] Mar. Poly. 2.4; Herm. *Sim.* 8.8.4; 9.28.7.
[12] Note Herm. *Sim.* 9.28.4-7, where open denial and confession of Christ are compared and discussed; cf. Mar. Poly. 10.1; 12.1.
[13] Tit. 1.16 tells of those who profess to know God (θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι)

rences of ἀρνεῖσθαι indicates that the setting for denial as well as for confession is frequently the persecution of Christians [1] or their defense of the Christian faith;[2] in some instances, therefore, the *homologia* may be expected to have an apologetical and polemical character.

By way of relating the linguistic analysis above to the larger concern of this study, we may conclude that the *homologia* represented the agreement or consensus in which the Christian community was united, that core of essential conviction and belief to which Christians subscribed and openly testified. The *homologia* was the admission and acknowledgment of the individual's loyalty to Jesus Christ, and as such represented a personal testimony of his faith. The *homologia* was the confession of Jesus with specific reference to his person or work, and was therefore Christological in character. The *homologia* was an open declaration of this faith, whether expressed in public worship (Phil. 2.11), in some special service (I Tim. 6.12), in preaching (Rom. 10.8-10), or in controversy with Jews (Jn. 9.22; 12.42), with pagans (I Tim. 6.13), or with heretics (I Jn. 4.2, 3).

References in early Christian literature utilizing ὁμολογία or its verbal form are concerned with the *content* of the confession and not the *act* of confession. The syntactical structure sometimes suggests specific formulas or statements; e.g. ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι introducing either direct [3] or indirect [4] quotations, and ὁμολογεῖν with the double accusative [5] or with the infinitive.[6] All introduce references to or fragments of the *homologia*, or quote the primitive *homologia* itself.

B. THE *HOMOLOGIA* AND THE *EUAGGELION* AND *KERYGMA*

Classical Greek writers used εὐαγγέλιον in the plural number to indicate the "reward for good news," [7] a meaning found infrequently

but who deny him by their deeds; cf. Heb. 4.14, κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας, and 10.23, κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν.

[1] Mar. Poly. 2.4; 9.2; 12.1; Diog. 7.7.

[2] I Jn. 2.22; Ign. *Smy.* 5.2.

[3] Mt. 7.23; Jn. 1.20; Acts 24.14.

[4] I Jn. 4.15; Herm. *Sim.* 9.28.7; cf. II Mac. 7.37.

[5] Jn. 9.22; Rom. 10.9; Ign. *Smy.* 5.2; cf. Jos. *Bel.* 7.418; *Ant.* 5.52.

[6] Tit. 1.16; I Jn. 4.2 (B); Poly. 7.1a; cf. II Mac. 6.6; IV Mac. 6.34; Wis. 18.3.

[7] E.g. Hom. *Ody.* 14.152, 166.

in the Septuagint.[1] Only in the Hellenistic period did the noun come to indicate the good news itself, but again in the plural.[2] The singular number, εὐαγγέλιον, meaning *good tidings*, is characteristically a New Testament word; neither the singular form nor the essential meaning is specifically drawn from either the Septuagint or current Greek usage. The verb, however, in the sense *to proclaim good news*, is found in both classical Greek (Aristotle and Demosthenes) and the Septuagint (for בָּשַׂר).

In the early church the content of the gospel was understood to be Jesus Christ himself, and the verb has as its direct object *Christ*,[3] *Jesus*,[4] *Jesus and the resurrection*,[5] or *Son of God*.[6] When the verb is followed by a double accusative, the content of the gospel is briefly given as an identification of Jesus, "Jesus is the Christ" [7] or "Jesus is the Lord." [8] The verb also takes such nouns as εὐαγγέλιον,[9] λόγος,[10] πίστις.[11]

Often the noun εὐαγγέλιον is used absolutely without any specific indication as to its content,[12] or with certain words which indicate its character as proclamation.[13] At other times it is defined by a noun in the genitive case which suggests something of the nature of the gospel, as εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ [14] (the subjective genitive), and εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ [15] (the objective genitive), "the gospel about Christ."

It is significant that εὐαγγέλιον, used of Jesus' proclamation and of the church's preaching about Christ, also designates the accounts which tell of the life, work, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

[1] II Sam. 4.10; 18.22 (these are in the plural).

[2] E.g. II Kings 4.10; Cic. *Att.* 2.3.1; 13.40.1 (again in the plural).

[3] Cf. Acts 8.4, 5, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον . . . . Φίλιππος . . . ἐκήρυσεν τὸν Χριστόν.

[4] Acts 8.35, Φίλιππος . . . εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[5] Acts 17.18, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο.

[6] Gal. 1.16, αὐτόν = τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ [θεοῦ].

[7] Acts 5.42, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[8] Acts 11.20, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν.

[9] I Cor. 15.1; II Cor. 11.7; Gal. 1.11.

[10] Acts 8.4.

[11] Gal. 1.23.

[12] Rom. 1.16; 10.16; 11.28; *et al.*

[13] Κηρύσσειν (Mt. 26.13; Mk. 13.10; 14.9; 16.15); καταγγέλλειν (I Cor. 9.4); γνωρίζειν (I Cor. 15.1); εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (Gal. 1.11).

[14] Rom. 1.1; 15.16; II Cor. 11.7; I Thes. 2.2, 8, 9; I Pet. 4.17.

[15] Rom. 15.19; I Cor. 9.12; II Cor. 2.12; 9.13; 10.14; Gal. 1.7; Phil. 1.27; I Thes. 3.2; cf. the more elaborate Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ, Mk. 1.1 (B D).

At first used in a transitional way,[1] the noun came to be applied to the written record of the life of Jesus.[2] The four gospels are the expanded forms of the earlier εὐαγγέλιον; the simple declaration of the coming of Jesus as the Christ was ultimately recorded as the εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Mk. 1.1) in an expanded account of his words and deeds.

Κηρύσσειν and related words [3] are used in the New Testament of the proclamation concerning Jesus Christ to the non-Christian world. As in its classical meaning *to announce* or *to make known by a herald*, κηρύσσειν denotes the *announcing* of the good news concerning Christ, while κῆρυξ is the *herald* or *preacher*, and κήρυγμα is the *announcement* or *message*.[4]

Most frequently the verb takes the direct object of that which is proclaimed (less often it is used passively with the subject as message). In the synoptic gospels, this is the message of the kingdom proclaimed by John the Baptist,[5] by Jesus,[6] or by his disciples.[7] Elsewhere in the New Testament, Christians proclaim τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,[8] ὁ λόγος (τοῦ θεοῦ),[9] and τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως.[10] Sometimes the message is "Christ," [11] "Jesus," [12] "Christ Jesus as Lord," [13] "Son of God," [14] or λόγος (i.e. Christ.).[15] Occasionally the content of the announcement is introduced by the verb with ὅτι.[16]

[1] Did. 8.2; 11.3; 15.3, 4; II Clem. 8.5; perhaps also Mk. 1.1; Ign. *Phila.* 8.2; *Smy.* 7.2.

[2] Diog. 11.6; Just. *Apol.* 1.66.

[3] See Dodd, *op. cit.*

[4] The noun κήρυγμα is found only four times in the Septuagint, II Chr. 30.5; I Esdr. 9.3; Prov. 9.3; Jon. 3.2. Κῆρυξ appears four times also, Gen. 41.43; Sir. 20.15; Dan. 3.4; IV Mac. 6.4. The verb, however, is found some thirty times, in most instances translating קָרָא. The kerygmatic concept may best be seen in Isa. 61.1.

[5] Mt. 3.1, 2; Mk. 1.7.

[6] Mk. 1.14 // Mt. 4.17; Lk. 8.1.

[7] Mt. 10.7; Lk. 9.2.

[8] Mt. 24.14; 26.13 // Mk. 14.9; (16.15); Lk. 4.18 (Isa. 61.1); Acts 1.2 (D); Gal. 2.2; Col. 1.23; Barn. 5.9.

[9] II Tim. 4.2.

[10] Rom. 10.8.

[11] Acts 8.5; I Cor. 1.23; Phil. 1.15; I Tim. 3.16.

[12] Acts 9.20; 19.13; II Cor. 11.4.

[13] II Cor. 4.5, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς κύριος.

[14] II Cor. 1.19 (with Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς); Herm. *Sim.* 8.3.2; 9.17.1; 9.16.5 (the latter with ὄνομα).

[15] Diog. 11.3.

[16] Acts 9.20. Σαοὺλ . . . ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; 10.42, "that he was appointed by God as judge of the living and the dead";

The noun κήρυγμα, found less frequently in the New Testament, is used mostly without further description or qualification.[1] It is, however, described as the *kerygma* about Jesus Christ,[2] about the Son of God,[3] and of eternal salvation.[4]

Καταγγέλλειν is found in later Greek writers (since Xenophon), where it means primarily *to proclaim*.[5] Its relationship to κήρυγμα may be seen in Phil. 1.15-18, where the two words are used interchangeably referring to the same concept.

In early Christian literature the verb is used with the direct object or in the passive voice to designate that which is proclaimed or made known, as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,[6] ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ,[7] ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου,[8] or χριστός.[9] Also proclaimed are the death of the Lord,[10] his resurrection,[11] the forgiveness of sins,[12] the way of salvation,[13] and the mystery of God, which is shown to be Jesus Christ and his crucifixion.[14] Jesus himself, by suffering and dying, "proclaimed light" to both Jew and Gentile.[15] And, in a significant passage, the proclamation consists of the identification of Jesus as the Christ.[16]

The foregoing word-groups, εὐαγγέλιον, κηρύσσειν, and καταγγέλλειν, are closely related to one another in that all indicate the proclamation of the good news concerning Jesus Christ, his coming, death, and resurrection, and the salvation wrought by him. Though εὐαγγελίζειν contains the idea of "proclaiming good news," κηρύσσειν that of "proclaiming openly," almost "crying out," and καταγγέλλειν "announcing clearly," all refer to the preaching of the same message to non-Christians so that they too may participate in the gospel.

I Cor. 15.11, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν (referring back to the account in vv. 3 ff., which begins with ὅτι); 15.12, ὅτι . . . ἐγήγερται.

[1] I Cor. 1.21; 2.4 (μου); 15.14 (ἡμῶν); II Tim. 4.17; Tit. 1.3.

[2] Rom. 16.25, κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[3] Herm. *Sim.* 9.15.4.

[4] Mk. (shorter ending), κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

[5] It is not used in the Septuagint.

[6] I Cor. 9.14; Ign. *Phila.* 5.2.

[7] Acts 13.5; 17.13.

[8] Acts 15.36.

[9] Phil. 1.17; Col. 1.28 (χριστός is understood).

[10] I Cor. 11.26, through the Lord's Supper.

[11] Acts 4.2.

[12] Acts 13.38.

[13] Acts 16.17.

[14] I Cor. 2.1; μαρτύριον is found in some mss.: ℵ^{c} B D E F G L P it (except *r*) sah aeth arm.

[15] Acts 26.23.

[16] Acts 17.3, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

Though the *kerygma* is not synonymous with the *homologia*, important associations occur. The explicit relationship of εὐαγγέλιον to ὁμολογία appears in II Cor. 9.13, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Paul here expresses a concern that the *homologia* be in subjection to the gospel, that it be consistent with the εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. A similar relationship exists between κηρύσσειν and ὁμολογεῖν in Rom. 10.8 ff.

τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν
ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν
καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν
σωθήσῃ.

The *homologia*, "Jesus is Lord," and the belief that "God raised him from the dead" comprise the ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως which is preached in the *kerygma* of the church. Thus it is clear that the essentials of the gospel which the church proclaimed were closely related to the *homologia* to which the Christian community adhered.

C. THE *HOMOLOGIA* AND THE *DIDACHE*

Whereas the *kerygma* is primarily the proclamation of the gospel to the non-Christian world, the *didache* is basically concerned with the instruction of the Christian faith to those who are members of the community (although, as will be pointed out, there are important exceptions). The concept of *didache* is expressed by the word-groups διδάσκειν and παραδιδόναι. In the New Testament διδάσκειν [1] usually is qualified by an object to indicate that which is taught, as τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ,[2] τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου,[3] τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,[4] τὰς παραδόσεις,[5] or τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.[6] It is used frequently in the gospels of Jesus' teaching.[7] Διδάσκειν is sometimes used

[1] On the word-group see F. V. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century," *JBL*, 60 (1941), pp. 317-328; Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8; E. Fascher, "Jesus der Lehrer," *ThLZ*, 79 (1954), pp. 325-342; K. H. Rengstorf, *KTW*, vol. 2, pp. 138-168. The verb is used in classical Greek since the time of Homer. In the Septuagint it is used to translate לָמַד.

[2] Acts 18.11.

[3] Acts 15.35; cf. Poly. 3.2, τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον.

[4] Gal. 1.2; cf. Mar. Poly. 4, οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

[5] II Thes. 2.15.

[6] Acts 18.25.

[7] E.g. Mt. 5.2; Mk. 8.31; Lk. 5.31.

with other verbs of a kerygmatic or didactic quality, as with κηρύσσειν,[1] εὐγγελίζεσθαι,[2] νουθετεῖν,[3] παρακαλεῖν,[4] and παραγγέλλειν.[5]

The noun διδασκαλία indicates the act of teaching or instructing,[6] but also the content of that which is taught. It is used derogatively of the teachings of men,[7] of demons,[8] of the ruler of this age.[9] In the Pastoral letters the noun refers frequently to the teaching of the church, in such phrases as ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία,[10] καλὴ διδασκαλία,[11] and ἡ κατὰ εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία,[12] or it is used without modifiers.[13] Διδαχή is also used of the act of teaching,[14] significantly by Paul as one of the gifts of the Spirit.[15] When referring to the content of the teaching, the noun is used of the apostles' teaching,[16] as well as in the expressions διδαχὴ τοῦ κυρίου,[17] διδαχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,[18] ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς διδαχῆς,[19] τύπος διδαχῆς;[20] it also designates teaching in general.[21]

This brief survey reveals that the Christian *didache* soon obtained a status as the correct and true teaching of Christianity. As early as Paul's letter to the Romans the connotation of rule or pattern of instruction can be observed. Though the interpretation of τύπος διδαχῆς (Rom. 6.17) remains problematical,[22] the phrase clearly refers to a form or pattern of Christian teaching which in some way had become normative. In Rom. 16.17 Paul warns the Christians to

[1] Mt. 11.1.
[2] Acts 15.35.
[3] Col. 3.16.
[4] I Tim. 6.2.
[5] I Tim. 4.11; cf. 5.17, οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.
[6] Rom. 12.7; 15.4; I Tim. 4.13, 16; II Tim. 3.16; Pap. 2.15.
[7] Mk. 7.7; Mt. 15.9; Col. 2.22 (all from Isa. 29.13).
[8] I Tim. 4.1.
[9] Ign. *Eph.* 17.1, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
[10] I Tim. 1.10; II Tim. 4.3; Tit. 1.9; 2.1.
[11] I Tim. 4.6.
[12] I Tim. 6.3.
[13] I Tim. 5.17; 6.1; II Tim. 3.10; Tit. 2.7.
[14] Mk. 4.2; 12.38; II Tim. 4.2.
[15] I Cor. 14.6, ἀποκάλυψις, γνῶσις, προφητεία, διδαχή; 14.26, ψαλμός, διδαχή, ἀποκάλυψις, γλῶσσα, and ἑρμηνεία.
[16] Acts 2.42; 5.28 (understood); *cf.* Rom. 16.17, διδαχὴ ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε.
[17] Acts 13.12.
[18] II Jn. 9.
[19] Did. 6.1.
[20] Rom. 6.17.
[21] Tit. 1.9; Heb. 6.2; Did. 1.3; Barn. 9.9; 16.9; 18.1.
[22] See G. A. J. Ross, " 'That Form of Doctrine': An Appeal," *Exp*, Ser. 7, 5 (1908), pp. 469-475; C. Lattey, "A Note on Rom. 6.17, 18," *JTS*, 29 (1928), pp. 381-384; J. Moffatt, "The Interpretation of Rom. 6.17,18," *JBL*, 48 (1929), pp. 333-338.

beware of those who make dissensions and difficulties contrary to the *didache* which they had learned. The Pastoral letters are even more explicit in emphasizing "sound doctrine" (see references above); for example, the elder must hold firm to the faithful word according to the *didache,* so that he may be able both to give instruction in sound teaching and to confute those who speak against it (Tit. 1.9). II Jn. 9,10 speaks of the *didache* of Christ as the norm of correct belief in the face of those who deceitfully bring a different doctrine; the context (v. 7) indicates that the deceivers are οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί, thus expressing a close relationship between the *didache* and the *homologia.*[1]

Παραδιδόναι and παράδοσις [2] occur frequently in early Christian writings and have a wide range of meanings. Παράδοσις is used only in the passive sense of that which is handed over, but the verb means *to hand over* or *deliver* a thing or a person,[3] *to commend* or *commit,*[4] *to allow* or *permit,*[5] as well as *to hand down, relate,* or *teach,* a meaning which is important as regards the *homologia* (see the next paragraph). In the gospels *paradosis* refers to the Jewish tradition preserved by the scribes and Pharisees,[6] for which Paul as a Jew had been zealous,[7] but which he later called ἡ παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων.[8]

The verb and the noun are also used with distinctively Christian connotations. That which is handed down includes accounts of the events concerning Jesus transmitted by eyewitnesses and ministers of the word,[9] τὰ δόγματα which were determined by the Jerusalem

[1] See below, pp. 28-29.

[2] On the words see A. Deneffe, *Der Traditionsbegriff: Studie zur Theologie* (Münster, 1931); W. G. Kümmel, "Jesus und der jüdische Traditionsgedanke," *ZNW,* 33 (1934), pp. 105-130; A. Seeberg, *Katechismus,* pp. 1-9. The verb is found in classical Greek since the time of Pindar and Herodotus with the basic meaning *to give over, deliver*; the noun is a little later (since Thucydides), and is used either of the act of delivery or of that which is handed over. The Septuagint uses the noun only in II Esdr. 7.26, but the verb appears frequently, usually to translate נָתַן.

[3] E.g. Judas delivered Jesus (Mk. 14.10; 14.18; *et al.*).

[4] Acts 15.40; 14.26; I Pet. 2.23.

[5] Mk. 4.29.

[6] Mt. 15.2; Mk. 7.1-13; cf. Acts 6.14.

[7] Gal. 1.14.

[8] Col. 2.8.

[9] Lk. 1.2, καθῶς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενομένοι τοῦ λόγου.

council,[1] ὁ λόγος,[2] τύπος διδαχῆς,[3] ἡ πίστις,[4] ἡ ἁγία ἐντολή,[5] τὰ παραδοθέντα,[6] and ἡ παράδοσις itself.[7] Christians are admonished to turn from the wrong to τὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα,[8] to stand firm and to hold fast τὰς παραδόσεις which they were taught,[9] to keep away from the brother who does not live κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν.[10] They are also commended by Paul for maintaining the traditions handed to them.[11]

One finds, therefore, that the *paradosis* is something which is given as a trust to the one who receives it,[12] so that it may be guarded and preserved,[13] but also passed on to the faithful.[14] There is clear evidence that the Christian *paradosis* represents the correct faith, and "orthodoxy" means adherence to the *paradosis*.[15]

A close relationship exists between παράδοσις and διδαχή.[16] Specific linguistic associations are seen in τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε (II Thes. 2.15), εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς (Rom. 6.17), and in the contrast between τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας and τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον (Poly 7.2). Other references to παραδιδόναι involve the concept of instruction and teaching.[17] The words *paradosis* and *didache* are, of course, not synonymous; the former contains an esoteric quality and mystery of that which remains the possession of the Christian community, while *didache*, as we have seen, refers more to the open instruction of the Christian faith.

The sharp distinction between *kerygma* and *didache* emphasized by Dodd cannot be rigorously maintained. Though essentially κηρύσσειν means *to proclaim* and διδάσκειν *to teach*,[18] there are times

[1] Acts 16.4.
[2] Poly. 7.2.
[3] Rom. 6.17.
[4] Jude 3.
[5] II Pet. 2.21.
[6] Diog. 11.1.
[7] I Cor. 11.2.
[8] I Clem. 7.2.
[9] II Thes. 2.15.
[10] II Thes. 3.6.
[11] I Cor. 11.2.
[12] Παραλαμβάνειν, II Thes. 3.6; I Cor. 11.23; 15.1, 3; cf. Diog. 11.6.
[13] Φυλάσσειν, Acts 16.4; Diog. 11.6; *cf.* Jude 3.
[14] Παραδιδόναι, I Cor. 11.23; 15.3; II Thes. 2.15.
[15] I Clem. 7.2, ὁ τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανών; II Pet. 2.21; Poly. 7.2; cf. II Thes. 3.6.
[16] Deneffe. *op. cit.*, pp. 7-17.
[17] I Cor. 11.2; II Thes. 3.6.
[18] See Mt. 4.23; 9.35.

when the two overlap and indeed become almost synonymous.[1] For example, in Acts 5.28 the Jewish officials strictly charged the apostles μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, for they had filled all Jerusalem with their teaching (διδαχή); that which the apostles had "taught" is clearly the *kerygma*, as the statements immediately following indicate (vv. 30, 31).[2]

The important passage in I Cor. 15.1 ff. further indicates that *paradosis*, as well as *didache*, is not unrelated to *kerygma*:

> τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν
> ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε . . .
> παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις
> ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον
> ὅτι . . . .

What Paul had received from those before him he also delivered to his readers; what they had received through Paul's preaching was the gospel or, to use Dodd's terminology, the *kerygma*, the content of which follows in vv. 3 ff. The *paradosis* included the essential facts of the Christian faith; this was passed on, from Christian to Christian, through both preaching and teaching.

The relationship between *didache* and *homologia* is not as clearly discernible as that noted between *kerygma* and *homologia*. *Didache* and *paradosis*, as was pointed out in the linguistic study above, are concerned with the basic elements of the Christian faith (such as the gospel, the word of the Lord) which were taught in the church; but more specifically, the instruction included the things about Jesus, the gospel story itself.[3] Insofar as the *didache* included the essential facts concerning Jesus, one may infer that it bore a relationship to the *homologia*.

In addition, one may conclude that *didache* as a tradition of the church was a norm for Christian faith and life.[4] II Jn. 9-10 shows a direct relationship to the *homologia* in this respect, for those who do not hold to the διδαχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ are they who do not confess that

[1] See Robert H. Mounce, *The Essential Nature of New Testament Preaching* (Grand Rapids, 1960).

[2] See also 15.35; 18.11, 25; II Thes. 2.15.

[3] Acts 18.25, τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (cf. Lk. 1.2).

[4] Τύπος διδαχῆς (Rom. 6.17); ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία (Pastoral Epistles); κατὰ τὴν διδαχήν (Tit. 1.9); διδαχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (II Jn. 9, 10); ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς διδαχῆς (Did. 6.1); κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν (II Thes. 3.6); ὁ τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανών (I Clem. 7.2); cf. Rom. 16.17; II Thes. 2.15.

Jesus Christ has come in the flesh. Since those who adhere to the teaching about Christ are they who confess his incarnation, the recognition and acknowledgment of this fact (and hence the *homologia*) must have been a part of the *didache*. Likewise, the polemical character of the Christian *didache* is evident, for it was used to combat schismatics (Rom. 16.17), to convince or convict opponents (Tit. 1.9), and to distinguish between true believers and heretics (II Jn. 9, 10). This function, as we have seen, was also a prominent characteristic of the *homologia*.

D. THE *HOMOLOGIA* AND THE *MARTYRIA*

The word μαρτυρεῖν and its cognates [1] are found in classical literature predominantly as legal *termini* with the general meaning *to bear witness, testify,* or *witness*. Μαρτυρεῖν (since the time of Simonides and Herodotus) is descriptive of the action, μαρτυρία (since Homer) is the testimony, which refers either to the act or to the content, μαρτύριον is the *proof* or *testimony*, and μάρτυς the *witness*. All these words are found in the New Testament, a few times in the legal sense.[2]

Important for our purpose is the use of these terms for the Christian testimony of the primitive church, where the witnessing was both *to something* regarding the Christian faith and *to someone*. In Luke-Acts the Christian μάρτυρες are described as eyewitnesses of the events concerning Jesus, particularly the resurrection, but also those who must testify to what they have seen.[3] In addition, it is said that the Christians are to testify to the resurrection,[4] to the cross,[5] to Christ,[6] to the Lord;[7] the writer of I John testifies to the life that was made manifest,[8] and to the circumstance that the Father sent the Son as savior of the world.[9]

[1] On these words see E. Burnier, *La notion de Témoignage dans le Nouveau Testament* (Lausanne, 1939); R. P. Casey, "Μάρτυς," *Beginnings*, vol. 5, pp. 30-37; O. Michel, "Biblischen Bekennen und Bezeugen," *EvTh*, 2 (1935), pp. 231-245; H. Strathmann, *KTW*, vol. 4, pp. 477-520.

[2] Mk. 14.55 ff.; Acts 6.13; 7.58; 22.5; cf. Rom. 1.9; Phil. 1.8; II Thes. 2.5, 10.

[3] Lk. 24.44-49; Acts 1.8, 22; 3.15; 10.36-41; 13.30, 31; cf. I Pet. 5.1.

[4] Acts 4.33.

[5] Poly. 7.1.

[6] I Cor. 1.6.

[7] II Tim. 1.8.

[8] I Jn. 1.2.

[9] I Jn. 4.14.

The words μαρτυρεῖν and μαρτυρία are used frequently in the gospel of John, at times of Jesus' testimony concerning himself, both by word and by miracles or signs,[1] a testimony which verifies that he is the Christ, the Son of God.[2] In two places the words are used of the Evangelist's testimony verifying the truth of his account,[3] which is intended to show that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and through it to instill faith.[4] Very significant is the testimony of John the Baptist. He came μαρτυρεῖν περὶ τοῦ φωτός[5] and περὶ τοῦ λόγου.[6] His opening testimony is recorded as ὡμολόγησεν ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ χριστός.[7] He testified to the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus, following which he says, κἀγὼ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[8] It becomes increasingly clear that the testimony mentioned in the gospel, whether given by John, by Jesus, or by the Evangelist, is intended to verify the truth concerning Jesus' person, so that faith in him may be evoked.

Thus, the concept of witnessing in the New Testament at times involves aspects of proclamation. The apostles, motivated by the Spirit, were to witness to and for Jesus Christ.[9] Paul speaks of witnessing in the sense of "inspired preaching,"[10] although at other times he uses the term in a hortatory way.[11] Particularly in the book of Acts Christians are depicted as testifying or proclaiming their message before non-Christians.[12]

Besides being related to proclamation, Christian testimony was also apologetical and polemical in times of persecution. It is not difficult to see how the meaning of being a *witness* before hostile authorities should lead to that of *martyr*, when the open acknowledgment of one's belief might result in the sentence of death.[13] The transition to the connotation of martyrdom may be seen in several passages in the New Testament, where Stephen, Jesus,

[1] 5.36; 8.12-18; 10.25, 26.
[2] 5.36; 10.24, 25, 36.
[3] 19.35; 21.24.
[4] 20.31.
[5] 1.7, 8.
[6] 1.15.
[7] 1.20.
[8] 1.34.
[9] Lk. 24.48, 49; Acts 1.8; 4.33.
[10] I Cor. 1.6; 2.1; II Thes. 1.10.
[11] I Thes. 2.12; 4.6; Eph. 4.17.
[12] Acts 1.8; 4.33; 5.32; 13. 30-32; *et al.*
[13] Cf. Mk. 13.9-11; I Tim. 6.13.

and Antipas are each called a μάρτυς.[1] The book of Revelation most clearly shows the concept of both testimony and martyrdom.[2] Though there is an intermingling of the two ideas, in Revelation the Christians "died because they were μάρτυρες and did not become μάρτυρες because they died." [3] Later, however, the transition is more complete, and μαρτυρεῖν means to *die for the faith,*[4] μαρτυρία, the *martyr's death,*[5] μαρτύριον, *martyrdom,*[6] and μάρτυς, the *martyr.*[7]

The concept of *martyria* is related to that of *homologia.* In I Tim. 6.13 reference is made to Christ Jesus, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν. It is best to understand *homologia* here as Jesus' admission to the governor that he was king of the Jews (Mk. 15.2); Pilate's question was the political equivalent of the question put to Jesus by the high priest, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; (Mk. 14.61). The admission and acknowledgment by Jesus that he was the Messiah was the καλὴ ὁμολογία; in view of its being made before a hostile audience, it was also *martyria.*

A further relationship between *martyria* and *homologia* is disclosed by the simple formulas which μαρτυρεῖν occasionally introduces; e.g.

> ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (Jn. 1.34).
> εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (Acts 18.5).
> ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου.
> ὃς ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ . . .
> (I Jn. 4.14, 15).

Testimonies such as these may be taken as primitive forms of the *homologia* itself.

Another link between *martyria* and *homologia,* which also testifies to the apologetic character of the testimony, is apparent in the later literature where both μάρτυς and ὁμολογήτης designate Christians who suffered for the faith because of their open testimony. While μάρτυς came to be used to refer to one who suffered "red" martyr-

[1] Acts 22.20; Rev. 1.5; 2.13.
[2] Rev. 1.9; 6.9; 12.11, 17; see D. W. Riddle, "From Apocalypse to Martyrology," *ATR,* 9 (1927), pp. 260-280.
[3] R. P. Casey, in *Beginnings,* vol. 5, p. 35.
[4] I Clem. 5.4, of Peter's death; 5.7 of Paul's; Mar. Poly. 1.1; 19.1.
[5] Mar. Poly. 1.1; 13.2; 17.1.
[6] Mar. Poly. 1.1; 2.1; 18.2; 19.1.
[7] Mar. Poly. 2.2; 14.4; 15.2; *et al.*

dom,[1] ὁμολογήτης was employed still later of one who suffered persecution but not death.[2]

The Christian *martyria* thus had certain legal and apologetic connotations; not infrequently it appears in a setting of persecution. The content of the testimony concerned the essentials of the Christian faith. It was the open acknowledgment of that truth which set the Christian apart from unbelievers, whether Jewish or pagan. One may conclude that the *homologia*, as the basic confession of faith, was often utilized in the Christian *martyria* before an unbelieving world.

E. THE *HOMOLOGIA* AND THE FAITH

Πιστεύειν and πίστις are used frequently in early Christian literature. While a complete survey of their occurrences is not necessary for the present purpose, it will be useful to summarize the associations of these words and the primitive *homologia*. As was observed to be true as regards ὁμολογεῖν, the verb πιστεύειν at times introduces specific statements or formulas concerning the Christian faith. Occasionally the form πιστεύειν ὅτι is used, and when the formula quoted is ἐγώ εἰμι (Jn. 8.24; 13.19), Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (Jn. 20.31; I Jn. 5.1, 5), or εἷς θεός (Jas. 2.19; Herm. *Man.* 1.1), we can be assured that these are closely related to the primitive *homologia*.[3] The same may be said of the syntax involving πιστεύειν with the infinitive, as in Acts 8.37,[4] πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.[5]

In view of this usage it is not altogether surprising to find πίστις used in early Christian literature for the body of faith or belief, i.e. of Christian doctrine.[6] Indeed, later church fathers employ the word πίστις in the sense of creed:[7] the faith was the body of doctrine formulated in the creed, acknowledged by the Christian community, and adhered to by the church. The similarity between the faith and the *homologia* in this sense is apparent.

[1] Mar. Poly. 2.2; 14.2; 15.2; cf. I Clem. 5.4, 7.

[2] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.12; Eus. *His. Ec.* 5.28; Dion. Alex. *Epis.* 1.

[3] See also Jn. 11.27; I Thes. 4.4.

[4] The better mss omit this statement and it should not be read as original; it is found with variations in E 103 *et al.* it vg^{cl} sy^{h} Iren. Nevertheless, the variant does reflect a primitive *homologia* introduced by πιστεύειν.

[5] Cf. Ign. *Smy.* 3.1.

[6] Rom. 1.5; Gal. 1.23; I Tim. 4.16; II Tim. 4.7; Jude 3, 20; Ign. *Eph.* 16.2.

[7] Eus. *His. Ec.* 5.28. 13; Basil *Epis.* 51.2.

At the same time there are significant differences between *pistis* and *homologia*. In fact, at least twice in the New Testament the concepts are clearly distinguished from one another. In Rom. 10.10 Paul states, καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν. A similar distinction is made in Jn. 12.42 where the Evangelist says that many of the Jewish officials ἐπίστευσαν τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς Φαρισαίους οὐχ ὡμολόγουν. In these instances the *homologia* is the open declaration of that which one believes in one's heart. It follows, therefore, that, while the confession corresponds to that which one believes, the belief which one holds may or may not be expressed openly in the *homologia*.

CHAPTER III

THE *HOMOLOGIA* AND JUDAISM

Before detailed attention is given to the early Christian literature, it will be profitable to survey the evidence of the period c. 200 B.C. — A.D. 100 to determine whether or not anything like the *homologia* can be found in Judaism.[1] Primarily two centers of interest will guide this investigation. The first involves the confession within Judaism itself: what was the confession? what did it mean? where and how was it used? The second will explore the relationship between Judaism and the pagan world: did the confession have a place in Jewish apologetics? propaganda? polemics? persecution?

A. CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN JUDAISM

When one attempts to locate a "confession of faith" in early rabbinical Judaism, it immediately becomes apparent that the literature is quite devoid of explicit creeds or theological formulas.[2] In one way the Torah may itself be considered to be the Jewish confession,[3] for its importance in the faith and life of the Jews is found almost everywhere in their literature. In the Pentateuch the Jews were united to one another and, as a group, to Yahweh. The law expressed the historical basis of their faith, determined their standard of life, gave instructions for their sacrifice — in a word, the Torah was their creed.

Yet, the law is too inclusive, too broad in scope, to be called a "confession of faith" in the sense of a *homologia* which expressed

[1] It should be observed that the present investigation has nothing to do with the *Vidui*, or confession of sins made by orthodox Jews on the Day of Atonement.

[2] Cf. W. A. Curtis, "Confessions," *ERE*, vol. 3, p. 833: "The Hebrew Creed, with its virtual monopoly of monotheism, was so conspicuous, so simple, and so well known as not to require any specific formulation."

[3] O. Procksch, *Das Bekenntnis im Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1936), emphasizes the Torah as Israel's confession (*Bekenntnis*) (pp. 5-16); the Torah is the "constitutional charter" (*Verfassungsurkunde*) of the Jewish church, even as the Christian confessional church is bound in its confession. In addition, Procksch maintains that the Psalms, as a prayer book, is a confession of faith (*Glaubensbekenntnis*) of the first order (p. 28).

the heart or core of Judaism. The confession which served more precisely as Judaism's *homologia* was the *Shema'*.

As a title *Shema'* [1] is derived from the first word of a collection of passages from the Pentateuch. In its entirety, the group is composed of three sections, entitled (from the first word[s] of each), שְׁמַע (Deut. 6.4-9), וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמֹעַ (Deut. 11.13-21), and וַיֹּאמֶר (Num. 15.37-41). *Shema'* frequently refers to the entire group of passages, although at times it refers only to the opening declaration, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord."

The importance of the *Shema'* in Judaism can be seen in that every Jew was required to recite it twice daily; two benedictions were pronounced before and one after the morning *Shema'*, and two benedictions before and after the evening *Shema'*.[2] A copy of the *Shema'* was carried in the phylacteries.[3] Women, children, and slaves, however, were exempt from saying the *Shema'* and from wearing the phylacteries.[4] Various rules concerning the recitation of the *Shema'* are contained in the Mishnah.[5] It was recited by heart,[6] and could be spoken in any language.[7] It served as the equivalent for reading the law,[8] as a reminder of the ten commandments, and as a substitute for sacrificial worship.[9] The priests in the temple, following the slaughter of the daily whole offering, adjourned to an adjacent hall and recited the *Shema'*.[10] Its recitation had preventive or curative power against evil spirits and atoning power for sin; it gave assurance of a place in the world to come.[11]

In addition, the *Shema'* was used in the worship of the synagogue. Here the reading of the law and the prophets, as well as the benedictions, were recited or read by one or more persons, but the

[1] See E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People*, vol. 2 : 2, pp. 84-85; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdisches Gottesdienst in seiner Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 14 ff.; H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, vol. 4 : 1, pp. 189-207 (Munich, 1928).

[2] Berakoth 1.1-4.

[3] Shabbath 8.3.

[4] Berakoth 3.3.

[5] Berakoth 2.1-8; 3.1-6.

[6] Taanith 4.3.

[7] Sotah 7.1.

[8] Berakoth 1.2.

[9] For Rabbinic citations, see Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol 4 : 1, p. 190.

[10] Tamid 4.2.

[11] See the examples in Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 4 : 1, pp. 203 ff.

Shema' was repeated by the congregation as a whole.[1] It was their united profession of faith in the only God, an act of acclamation which filled the worship with doxological meaning.[2]

While the citations in the Mishnah and other rabbinic literature are later than the beginning of the Christian era, the well-known conservatism in liturgical and quasi-liturgical matters makes it altogether probable that the *Shema'* exercised a prominent influence in the life of Judaism also at an earlier period;[3] this is suggested by the instructions and rules relating to the temple worship, as well as the general firmness with which the tradition was fixed when compiled in the Talmud. From its use in the daily recitations, in the temple and in the synagogue, the *Shema'* may properly be called a *confession, acclamation,* or *acknowledgment* of the faith of Judaism, as distinct from prayer offered to God.[4] It was a daily reminder to the Jew of the uniqueness of Yahweh, the God of Israel, of his own responsibility to love, serve, and obey him, as well as a warning of the consequences of serving other gods. In this confession of the One God, all Judaism was united in one body.

In addition to the *Shema'*, and perhaps in some cases as a substitute for it, one finds that at the beginning of the Christian era the formula εἷς ὁ θεός [5] was used to express the monotheistic faith of Judaism. The currency of this confession in the Jewish world of that time is clearly demonstrated by the widespread evidence. A variety of Jewish sources contains the form εἷς θεός [6] and μόνος

[1] Megillah 4.5 presents some problem of interpretation, i.e. whether the reader or the congregation says the *Shema'*, but it is best to follow the above interpretation; so Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 4 : 1, p. 206.

[2] So interpreted by E. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Elbogen, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f., 235 f., 247.

[3] E.g. Tamid 4.2. Strack and Billerbeck (*op. cit.*, vol. 4 : 1, p. 191) conclude that, though the use of the *Shema'* may go back to the Great Synagogue (c. 300-200 B.C.), it was in prominent use during the period of the Temple (i.e. prior to A.D. 70).

[4] That it is a "confession" or "confession of faith" is generally agreed; see Schürer, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 : 2, p. 77; Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 4 : 1, p. 189.

[5] See *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 28 ff.; *KTW*, vol. 3, pp. 95-100; E. Peterson, Εἷς Θεός (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 276-299; Stauffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-244. In discussing the inscription from Amwâs (fourth century A.D.) Peterson (*op. cit.*, pp. 285-295) concludes that the εἷς θεός formula, at least in this instance, is a substitution for the *Shema'* and/or the Name of God.

[6] E.g. Sib. Or. 3.11; 4.30, εἷς θεός; Jos. *Ant.* 4.201, θεὸς εἷς (cf. Ep. Aris. 132); Phil. *De Spec. Leg.* 1.67, εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός.

θεός,[1] as well as two- or three-part phrases, such as "one temple for one God" [2] and "one God and one people." [3] Numerous inscriptions containing εἷς θεός [4] give further proof of the widespread distribution of the confession. The New Testament itself testifies to the monotheistic faith which it inherited from Judaism. The opening phrases of the *Shema'* are recited by Jesus;[5] εἷς ὁ θεός [6] and μόνος θεός [7] are expressed, and other longer statements [8] suggest the importance of the confession and its formulary expression for both Christian and Jew.[9] As Josephus himself testifies, in the acknowledgment of God as One, all Jews were united.[10] The emphasis upon εἷς θεός is obviously the natural result of the monotheistic religion of the Hebrews,[11] which reached its maturity during and following the Exile.[12] The continual repetition of the *Shema'*, with its opening words, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἷς ἐστιν (Deut. 6.4), gave impetus to the popularity of the shorter form εἷς θεός as a concise confession of Judaism.[13] The high regard for the Decalogue, particularly the first commandment,[14] also expressed itself in Jewish literature in terms of εἷς θεός.[15]

[1] II Mac. 3.37, ἐξομολογήσασθαι διότι μόνος αὐτὸς θεός ἐστιν; Jos. *Ant.* 8.335, ὃς μόνος ἐστὶ θεός; 8.337, θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον; Sib. Or. 3.760, αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεός; cf. Apoc. Abr. 17.

[2] Jos. *Ap.* 2.193, εἷς ναὸς ἑνὸς θεοῦ; Phil. *De Spec. Leg.* 1.67, ἐπειδὴ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἱερὸν ἓν εἶναι μόνον.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* 4.201, θεὸς γὰρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἕν.

[4] For examples, see E. Peterson, *op. cit.*, particularly pp. 277, 281, and 285, and J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (2 vols., Rome, 1936-1952), vol. 2, pp. 207, 217, 221.

[5] Mk. 12.29.

[6] Mk. 10.18; Rom. 3.30; I Cor. 8.6; Eph. 4.6; I Tim. 2.5; cf. I Cor. 8.4.

[7] I Tim. 1.17; cf. Rom. 3.29; with σοφός added, Rom. 16.27; with ἀληθινός, Jn. 17.3; with σωτήρ, Jude 25.

[8] E.g. ὁ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν, Gal. 3.20; see also Jn. 8.41; Mk. 12.32.

[9] Note particularly James 2.19 which clearly gives the confession as a formula, σὺ πιστεύεις ὅτι εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός; moreover, it has importance here in a predominantly Jewish setting.

[10] *Ant.* 5.112, ἀλλὰ θεόν τε ἕνα γινώσκειν τὸν Ἑβραίοις ἅπασιν κοινόν.

[11] For discussion of monotheism in the Old Testament see B. Balscheit, *Alter und Aufkommen des Monotheismus in der Israelitischen Religion* (Berlin, 1938).

[12] Note e.g. Deut. 4.35; Zech. 14.9; Isa. 43.10, 11.

[13] So Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 4.1, p. 190; E. Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 242) calls the *Shema'* the "original monotheistic formula of Jewish orthodoxy."

[14] That is, the first commandment according to Hebrew reckoning (Ex. 20.2, 3; Deut. 5.6, 7).

[15] Phil. *De Dec.* 65: the first and most sacred commandment is ἕνα τὸν ἀνατάτω νομίζειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν; Jos. *Ant.* 3.91, διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος

B. JUDAISM AND THE PAGAN WORLD

It is obvious that the confession εἷς θεός gained importance for the Jews in their relation to the polytheistic Hellenistic environment. A survey of this relationship is necessary if one is to understand fully the meaning of the confession as it was utilized by Judaism during the centuries just before and after the birth of Christ.

With a few notable exceptions, Judaism seems to have enjoyed religious toleration and freedom during most of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic periods and well into the Roman era. Josephus refers to the privileges granted the Jews in Alexandria from the time of Alexander to Julius Caesar,[1] and to those granted in Antioch under Seleucus.[2] Relations with Rome later in the period were for the most part good,[3] and the Jews were left free to handle their religious affairs as a *religio licita*.[4] The bans from Rome under Tiberius [5] and Claudius [6] were limited to that city and thus were only brief exceptions to a general policy of toleration.[7] The interdiction of Hadrian against the Jews, which made circumcision a capital crime and which gave rise to the Jewish revolt of A.D. 132,[8] is too late to be of significance in considering how the Jewish confession may be related to the Christian *homologia*.[9]

The supreme instance not only of intolerance but of open hostility was the effort to eradicate Judaism made by Antiochus Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.). In the zealous attempt to Hellenize his empire, Antiochus adopted harsh measure in dealing with the Jews of Palestine. He prohibited temple sacrifices (I Mac. 1.45), circum-

λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον; Sib. Or. 3.760, αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς κοὐκ ἔστιν ἐτ' ἄλλος.

[1] *Ap.* 2.37.

[2] *Ap.* 2.39; this toleration may be illustrated by the fact that Ptolemy II caused the Jewish law to be translated into Greek (*Ant.* 12.11 ff.); furthermore, Ptolemy IV went to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice in the temple (III Mac. 1.9).

[3] Jos. *Ap.* 2.39 ff.; *Ant.* 14.185 ff.; 16.160 ff.; *cf.* I Mac. 8.

[4] The phrase is first used by Tertullian (*Apol.* 21); it was not the terminology of the Roman government, which used *collegio licita*.

[5] Jos. *Ant.* 18.81-85; Tac. *Hist.* 2.85; Suet. *Tib.* 36.

[6] Acts 18.2; Suet. *Claud.* 25; cf. Dio Cassius (60.6), who states that Claudius prohibited only the assembly of the Jews.

[7] The enforcement by Caligula of emperor worship (cf. Mk. 13.14) was prevented by his early death.

[8] *Hist. Aug. Had.* 14.2; *Semp. Sev.* 17.4.

[9] It is significant to note, however, that in the persecution which resulted many Jews died for their faith; R. Akiba is said to have recited the *Shema'* during his torture and death.

cision (1.48), the reading of the law (1.49), and the keeping of the sabbath (1.43; II Mac. 6.6). Anyone possessing a book of the law (I Mac. 1.57) or practicing circumcision (1.60) was put to death. Copies of the law were burned (1.58), an altar to Zeus was erected in the Temple and swine's flesh offered upon it (1.54, 59; II Mac. 6.2), and the Jews were compelled to sacrifice upon the altars erected by the occupation forces throughout their land (I Mac. 1.47, 54). Many Jews complied, some even attempting to efface the marks of circumcision (1.15); others held to the Jewish faith, preferring to die rather than apostatize (1.61, 62; 2.29-38); still others, as the Maccabees and their followers, actively resisted the movement by open rebellion.

Under the Roman emperors too, in spite of their policy of religious toleration, it was inevitable that conflicts with the Jews should occur. The Jewish confession εἷς θεός was, in effect, apostasy from the Roman religion, for Rome, though granting religious freedom to its subject people, also expected the recognition and worship of its own deities. According to Roman national faith, the Jews, as well as the Christians, were ἄθεοι.[1] Dio Cassius (67.14) states that during the reign of Domitian the charge of atheism (ἀθεότητος) was brought against Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla as well as others who had drifted into Jewish ways. Josephus (*Bel.* 7.410-419) relates how the Sicarii, who had fled to Alexandria following the defeat of Judea by the Romans, paid no respect to the Romans, but looked upon God as their only Lord and Master.[2] When turned over to the Romans by their fellow Jews for being too zealous, they refused to confess Caesar as Lord;[3] not even their children would name Caesar as their Lord.[4]

In addition to such instances of official opposition, there is considerable evidence that the Jews suffered a great deal of ridicule from the general populace, notably outside Palestine. This is clearly illustrated in Josephus' work *Contra Apionem,* which constitutes

[1] See Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* (8 vols., Berlin 1905-1913), vol. 3, p. 404. For a general discussion of atheism see A. B. Drachmann, *Atheism in Pagan Antiquity* (London, 1922); he discusses the Jews on pp. 9-10, 126-132. Atheism in relation to Christianity is studied by A. Harnack in *Der Verwurf des Atheismus in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1905).

[2] 7.410, θεὸν δὲ μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι δεσπότην.

[3] 7.418, ὅπως αὐτῶν Καίσαρα δεσπότην ὁμολογήσωσιν.

[4] 7.419, Καίσαρα δεσπότην ἐξονομάσαι.

for the most part an apology for the Jewish faith against its foes in and about Alexandria.

The unpopularity of the Jews was due to many factors — their abstinence from certain foods, the strict observance of the Sabbath, the practice of circumcision, their social isolation.[1] Some of the enmity endured by the Jews was a result of their efforts to win converts.[2] While the proselyte to Judaism was accepted largely on the basis of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice (prior to the destruction of the Temple),[3] he was also instructed in the importance of the worship of the one true God and the rejection of idolatry.[4] Judaism made inroads into paganism, and at least one of the reasons for the remarkable success of Jewish propaganda was the fact that its unique faith in one God alone was a rational one in contrast with the confusion of polytheism.[5]

A further reason for Jewish unpopularity, and one which particularly concerns the present investigations, was the refusal of the Jews to worship native divinities and emperors. The pagan writers of the period ridicule or satirize the Jewish recognition of one God, their rejection of other gods, and their refusal to use images or statues. Tacitus, for example, states that, in contrast to the Egyptians, "the Jews conceived of only one God with their mind";[6] that is, they recognized one God but did not represent him with any images. Furthermore, the Roman historian states that Jewish converts were taught to despise the gods (*contemnere deos*), as well

[1] Schürer (*op. cit.*, vol. 2 : 2, p. 295) gives three basic reasons for Jewish unpopularity: abstinence from swine's flesh, strict observance of the Sabbath, and worship without idols. H. L. Strack ("Anti-Semitism," *ERE*, vol. 1, p. 594) suggests that two principal accusations were leveled against the Jews in Alexandria: they rejected all divine worship but their own, and they practiced social exclusiveness.

[2] For discussions of Jewish proselytism see E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 : 2, pp. 291-327, and J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain* (2 vols., Paris, 1914), vol. 1, pp. 253-337.

[3] These three requirements are expressed in the Talmud (see Schürer, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 : 2, p. 319). Juster (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 255, n. 1) adds a fourth, the adoption of Jewish dogma. Apparently the requirements were not always adhered to in the Diaspora; in some instances circumcision was not insisted upon (Jos. *Ant.* 20.2.5; Sib. Or. 4.164).

[4] Tac. *Hist.* 5.5, *contemnere deos.*

[5] Strabo (16.2.35) e.g. was attracted to the Jewish idea of the One Divine Being and the refusal to portray him by images.

[6] *Hist.* 5.5, *Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt*; cf. Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 13.9.46, *gens contumelia numinum insignis*; Juv. *Sat.* 14.97, *nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant.*

as to disown their country and to have little regard for their families.[1] In short, the general accusation of "atheism" (ἄθεοι; ἀθεότης) [2] indicates that the Jews both recognized only one God and rejected all other divinities.

C. CONCLUSION

The confession of faith of Judaism during the period c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 100 may be taken to be the simple formula, εἷς ὁ θεός, or the *Shema'*, the latter either in its entirety or merely in its opening phrase, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord." Basically, the confession is the declaration of Israel's faith in the one true God and, as expressed in the *Shema'* and implied in εἷς θεός, the rejection of other gods. The acknowledgment of the one God was the confession in which all Jews were united. Every male Jew recited the *Shema'* twice daily; with his Jewish brethren he acclaimed the uniqueness of God in the worship of the synagogue.

But the confession of God as one also had important meaning to the Jew in his relationship with the Hellenistic world. While the Jews usually enjoyed official toleration under their several overlords, there were times when they found that εἷς ὁ θεός stood in conflict with πολλοὶ θεοί, or more acutely with Καῖσαρ δεσπότης. The rejection of other gods in favor of the one God meant that the official deities or the emperor himself could not be given divine honors, and the Jews were therefore considered ἄθεοι, or apostate from the official religion.

We may conclude that the confession εἷς ὁ θεός was the basic *homologia* of Judaism, epitomizing the longer *Shema'* and the more inclusive Torah. This confession was the covenant or consensus in which Judaism found unity; it was her confession of faith; it was her acclamation in worship. The confession, furthermore, was the basic declaration and manifesto of Judaism to an unbelieving world; it was the standard which distinguished true faith; it was the test of faithfulness in time of persecution.

[1] Tac. *Hist.* 5.5.

[2] According to Josephus (*Ap.* 2.14), Apollonius Molon called the Jews both ἄθεοι and μισάνθρωποι; cf. ἀθεότης in Dio. Cas. 67.14.

CHAPTER IV

THE *HOMOLOGIA* IN THE LETTERS OF PAUL

The first group of Christian writings which will be examined for the primitive *homologia* is the Pauline corpus.[1] Priority will be given to these letters for two reasons: first, by general agreement, they are the earliest literary compositions of the Christian church that are extant today; second, in them (as well as in the later gospel and letters of John) one finds the clearest evidence for the presence and use of the Christian *homologia*. The investigation of these letters, therefore, should provide assistance for the examination of other Christian literature where similar evidence is not so apparent (as for example the synoptic gospels).

The primary purpose of this chapter is to determine the form of the basic *homologia* that is preserved in the letters of Paul. Christological statements and formulas will be examined to ascertain the form which properly may be called the *homologia*. In addition, the words and ideas expressed in the form will be analyzed in order to determine what the *homologia* meant to Paul and to those to whom he sent the letters. Finally, the life situation of the church in which the *homologia* was used will be investigated in an effort to understand its function in the early Christian community.

A. THE FORM OF THE PAULINE *HOMOLOGIA*

The results of the linguistic study made above (pp. 13-20) provide criteria for detecting the *homologia* in early Christian literature. It was observed that the ὁμολογεῖν-ὁμολογία word-group itself suggests the presence of the formula, and that other verbs of a kerygmatic, didactic, or confessional nature also provide certain clues pointing to the *homologia*. In addition, syntactical considerations may be indicative of formulary material, such as the use of ὅτι, the double accusative, and the infinitive to express a statement which is quoted directly or indirectly. In other passages a participial construction or the use of relative clauses may introduce "credal" material. The total evidence which is thus revealed

[1] I.e. Rom., I and II Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., I and II Thes., and Phile. The Pastoral letters will be considered later (pp. 127 ff.).

in the letters must be evaluated in an effort to precipitate the form or forms which rightly may be called the Pauline *homologia.*

A form of *homologia* with which Paul was familiar and which he apparently used in his own work was κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus is Lord." [1] This is clearly expressed in his letters by both explicit quotations and indirect allusions. In Rom. 10.9 he states,

τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν.
ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου
κύριον Ἰησοῦν,
καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου
ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
σωθήσῃ.

In Codex Vaticanus (B) the *homologia* is even more explicit, being introduced by ὅτι *recitativum*: [2]

ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου
ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς, κ.τ.λ.

In Phil. 2.11 the *homologia* is also quoted by means of ὅτι *recitativum*:

καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται
ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς (Χριστός) [3]
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.

Both of these passages clearly contain the primitive *homologia*, "Jesus is Lord." [4] This is proved in both instances by the verb ὁμολογεῖν [5] which introduces the formula. This form is again quoted

[1] From what follows it will be seen that Cullmann (*op. cit.*, p. 58) is mistaken when he says that the confession was, "Christ is Lord."

[2] This reading is found also in sah and Clem. Alex.

[3] Χριστός is omitted in F G g m, as well as in Origen, Eusebius, Novatian, *et al.*

[4] Though many scholars have noted here the presence of primitive tradition, relatively few have recognized it as a form of the *homologia* itself. It is called a "confession" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* [Göttingen, 1955], p. 227; Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 22), a "liturgical confession" (H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer* [Tübingen, 1928], p. 97), a "baptismal confession" (C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* [London, 1932], p. 166; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [London, 1957], p. 200), a "creed" (Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 31), a "credal formula" (H. Sasse, "Jesus Christ, the Lord," *Mysterium Christi*, eds. G. K. A. Bell and A. Deissmann [London, 1932], p. 93), an "acclamation" (Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 227), or simply a "formula" (Dodd, *Romans*, p. 166; E. F. Scott, *IB*, vol. 11, p. 51).

[5] Regardless of whether ἐξομολογεῖσθαι in Phil. 2.11 should be understood as *confess* and *acclaim* or as *praise* and *give thanks* (cf. LXX usage), the *homologia* is clearly referred to. One's understanding of the verb does,

by Paul in I Cor. 12.3, where, however, he does not use the verb.

διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν
ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει
ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς,
καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν
κύριος Ἰησοῦς[1]
εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

The manner in which both ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς and κύριος Ἰησοῦς are introduced suggests that they were formulas or declarations current in Paul's day, and familiar to Corinthian Christians.[2]

There is evidence in the letters of Paul that, at the time when the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς was current, there was also in existence a two-article formula expressing belief in God and in Jesus. It is less certain that this is to be termed a *homologia*. The double statement is clearly expressed in I Cor. 8.5-6:[3]

εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί,
ἀλλ' ὑμῖν
εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ,
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν,
καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.

The formula εἷς θεός[4] is found elsewhere in the letters of Paul, e.g. in Rom. 3.30,[5] Eph. 4.6 (see below), Gal. 3.20 (see below),

however, have an implication in relation to the situation of the church in which the confession is uttered. This is a subject for further consideration (*infra*, pp. 60 ff.).

[1] The *homologia* is expressed by the double accusative in some important mss: D E F G K P *et al.* d e g m syr^{ph} arm cop. But the weight of the evidence (P^{46} ℵ A B C *et al.*) favors the nominative.

[2] See J. Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (New York, 1938), pp. 178 f.; H. D. Wendland, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 1948), p. 71.

[3] Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 51, takes this as a "very old bipartite formula," although it is later than the simple Christological confession.

[4] For the use of this confession in Judaism, see above, pp. 36-41. The prominence of the formula in the Christian literature is probably the result of Jewish influence.

[5] Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 96, says that the confessional style of this verse is suggested by the relative clause beginning with ὅς and the antitheses περιτομήν — ἀκροβυστίαν and ἐκ πίστεως — διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

and I Cor. 8.4.[1] Εἷς κύριος in Eph. 4.5 [2] stands in close conjunction with εἷς θεός:

εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα,
εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων.

Somewhat similar are the implications of Gal. 3.20:

ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν,
ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν.

This idea is clearly expressed in a formula found in the Pastoral letters (I Tim. 2.5):

εἷς γὰρ θεὸς,
εἷς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων
ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

Therefore, it may be concluded that a bipartite formula was extant in the primitive church which acknowledged God as Father and Jesus as Lord. That this was a *homologia* as defined above (p. 20) is difficult to establish.[3] The problem of further definition will be deferred for the present, until the *Sitz im Leben* in which the formulas were used is considered.

A number of other statements in the Pauline letters have formulary characteristics and may be related to the primitive *homologia.* Usually they are bipartite, appearing as contrasts, though at times the adversative aspects have been softened by qualifying phrases so as to make them complementary rather than antithetical.[4] The two examples which follow refer to the death of Jesus and his

[1] Οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς.

[2] Cf. Rom. 5.15, ὁ εἷς ἄνθρωπως Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, II Cor. 5.14, εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, Gal. 3.16, εἷς . . . ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός.

[3] Peterson (*op. cit.*, p. 302; cf. pp. 141-182) regards the εἷς θεός formula in the early church as an acclamation (*Akklamation*) and not a confession of faith (*Glaubensbekenntnis*).

[4] A. Harnack (Hahn[3], p. 364) notes that the primitive *kerygma* of the church is found in various forms and *schemata,* including such antithetical concepts as κατὰ σάρκα — κατὰ πνεῦμα and καταβάς — ἀναβάς; he does not, however, develop these to any degree. Stauffer in his study of "incarnational formulae" (*op. cit.*, pp. 246-247) mentions "antinomies" of the incarnation, as the contrasts between David's son and God's Son or between man and God, and "paradoxes" of the incarnation, as the hidden connection between the "way" and the "work" of Christ, or the double *schema* of man's will to destruction and God's deliverance.

resurrection, clearly emphasizing the contrast between these two facts.

Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς
ὁ ἀποθανών,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθείς,
ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ
ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν [1] (Rom. 8.34).[2]

Disregarding for the moment the two relative clauses, which themselves bear the characteristics of an early creed, the antithesis between the participles ἀποθανών and ἐγερθείς is obvious. A similar contrast is also evident in II Cor. 13.4:

ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας
ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ.

The antithesis here is indicated by the death-life motif [3] and the contrast between ἐξ ἀσθενείας and ἐκ δυνάμεως. The adversative character is not so apparent in I Thes. 4.14, although the sense of the verbs suggests a contrast here also:

πιστεύομεν
ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη.

Elsewhere in Paul the component parts of the theme of death and resurrection are made complementary by the addition of qualifying phrases. In such references Jesus' death has a meaning of its own and is not merely the fact to which contrast is made by the second part. In Rom. 4.24, 25 Paul speaks of those who believe

ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν
ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν
καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.[4]

[1] Lietzmann (*Römerb.*, p. 87) suggests that this phrase was substituted for the more familiar ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς (II Tim. 4.1). Dodd (*Romans*, p. 144) says the idea of intercession was introduced lest the thought of Christ as judge should cause fear.

[2] The presence of credal or confessional material in this passage has been noted by several scholars: Lietzmann (*Römerb.*, p. 87), Dodd (*Romans*, p. 144), Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 245), and Barrett (*op. cit.*, p. 173).

[3] Cf. II Cor. 4.11, ἡ νέκρωσις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ — ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

[4] Michel (*op. cit.*, pp. 112) finds evidence here for a confession of faith which is derived from an earlier tradition, stemming from either a confession (*Bekenntnis*) or a hymn (*Hymnus*).

The separation of the death and the resurrection into the two relative clauses may be taken as the result of a semantic antithesis involved in the words παρεδόθη and ἠγέρθη.

In Rom. 14.9 the aspects of death and life are closely related:

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ
Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν,[1]
ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ.

Although the words ἀπέθανεν and ἔζησεν are antithetical, the emphasis of the passage rests upon the lordship of Christ, which appears to be ascribed to both his death and resurrection.

There is still another example where the death and resurrection are brought together in one formula, namely the important passage in I Cor. 15.3-5.[2]

ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ γραφάς,
καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη,
καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ γραφάς,
καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη . . . .

Since the primitiveness of this passage can hardly be questioned, the clause Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν may be taken as pre-Pauline. It is possible also that the primitive *paradosis* contained the four verbs as representing a series of chronological events,[3]

ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν . . .
καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη,
καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται . . .
καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη,[4]

and that the descriptive phrases were added later, even as ὤφθη was expanded to include the names of those to whom the risen Lord appeared, including Paul himself.[5] Moreover, it is significant

[1] The more familiar ἀνέστη is found in G lat Orig.

[2] That this is a piece of pre-Pauline tradition is indicated by the *termini technici* παρέλαβον and παρέδωκα, as is acknowledged by scholars generally.

[3] Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 245) calls this a "quadripartite summary" which reflects the descending movement in the death and burial and the ascending movement in the resurrection and appearances.

[4] Cf. the series of six aorist passive verbs in the "creed" of I Tim. 3.16.

[5] Note also the presence of the *descensus ad inferos* in the Creed as an expansion of ἐτάφη (cf. I Pet. 3.19).

that κατὰ τὰς γραφάς is added only to the first and third articles, for the death and the resurrection were the two principal events which the early Christians needed to interpret in the light of their Scriptures (cf. Acts 3.18; 17.3; 26.23). At any rate, as in the above mentioned examples, here the two principal concepts of death and resurrection are clearly stated, and the aspects of death and burial are contrasted with those of resurrection and appearance.

The dual emphasis on the death of Jesus and his resurrection recurs frequently in Paul's letters, but, with the exception of the examples referred to already, as separate formulas. The formula Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπέρ τινος, with slight variations, is found in Rom. 5.6, 8; 14.15; I Cor. 8.11; II Cor. 5.15 (three times); I Thes. 5.10 (cf. Gal. 2.21). Of significance is the fact that in every instance of the single-membered formula except one (I Thes. 5.10) [1] the subject is Χριστός,[2] and none contains Paul's more familiar *Jesus Christ* or *Christ Jesus*. This circumstance points to the origin of the phrase, "Christ died," in Jewish Christianity where an attempt was made to account for the fact that the messiah, who was identified as Jesus, had to experience death.[3]

Formulas referring to the resurrection are even more numerous. They are found approximately in equal numbers in both the active voice, ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν (Χριστόν, κύριον), and in the passive voice, ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγέρθη.[4] When the emphasis is upon God as the one who raised Jesus, the direct object is expressed in several ways, namely *Jesus* (Rom. 8.11; I Thes. 1.10; cf. Rom. 10.9), *Lord* (II Cor. 6.14), *Christ* (I Cor. 15.15, twice; Eph. 1.20; Col. 2.12), *Jesus the Lord* or *Lord Jesus* (Rom. 4.24; 10.9; II Cor. 4.14), and indifferently *Christ Jesus* or *Jesus Christ* (Rom. 8.11; Gal. 1.1).[5] In all instances except one (Rom. 4.25) where the verb is used passively of Christ's being raised up, however, the subject is expressed by

[1] Διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος περὶ ἡμῶν.

[2] This is true also in the double formulas of I Cor. 15.3 and Rom. 14 9.

[3] This is demonstrated clearly by the formulas in the book of Acts (see below, pp. 120 ff.), e.g. παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ (3.18), ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν (17.3), and εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός (26.23).

[4] There are twelve examples of the active voice; in each of them God is the subject (Rom. 4.24; 8.11, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν; 8.11, ὁ ἐγείρας; 10.9; I Cor. 6.14; 15.15, twice; II Cor. 4.14; Gal. 1.1; Eph. 1.20; Col. 2.12; I Thes. 1.20). Thirteen times the verb is used in the passive (Rom. 4.25; 6.4; 6.9; 7.4; 8.34; I Cor. 15.4, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20; II Cor. 5.15).

[5] According to S. V. McCasland ("Christ Jesus," *JBL*, 65 [1946], pp. 377-379) Paul uses "Christ Jesus" sixty-three times and "Jesus Christ" sixty-five times.

Χριστός.[1] Though the evidence is inconclusive, the relative consistency of the form Χριστὸς ἠγέρθη suggests that it is a primitive formula. It is possible that originally the phrase ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν χριστόν, whether expressed actively or passively, indicated that God raised up a messiah from among his people, as, for example, ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυίδ (Acts 13.22); this seems to be the meaning in Acts 5.30, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν.[2] But it appears more likely that the formula which includes ἐγείρειν was utilized in the early church as an explanation of the resurrection of Jesus in the light of the scriptures, as in Acts 17.2, 3; 26.23. The prepositional phrase ἐκ νεκρῶν, found in fourteen of the twenty-five instances where ἐγείρειν is used of Christ (once τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, I Cor. 15.4), gives the phrase its distinctively Christian connotation as a reference to the resurrection.

The above formulas, which variously express faith in the death and the resurrection of Jesus, may fairly be taken to reflect the existence of Christian confessions in which these antithetical concepts were expressed. It will be seen later, when the formulas in the book of Acts are considered, that the same forms appear there as well.

The contrast in simple formulas, though of another character, also appears in Eph. 4.8-10, where καταβαίνειν and ἀναβαίνειν express antithetical ideas.

> ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν
> καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν
> ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα (v. 10).[3]

The general theme of the descent of Christ to earth and the subsequent ascension is expanded in Phil. 2.6-11, where Christ is pictured as moving from his heavenly status (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ), through his birth and death, to his exaltation, where he is given "the name which is above every name," at which every knee will bend and every tongue confess that "Jesus is Lord." A similar Christological summary seems to be worked into the passage of Rom. 10.6-13, which refers to his descent from heaven (v. 6) into the realm of

[1] In Rom. 8.34, the Nestle text has Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, but there is not inconsiderable evidence supporting the omission of Ἰησοῦς (B D Koine sy).

[2] So F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1951), p. 143; cf. Jud. 3.9.

[3] Cf. Rom. 10.6, 7.

hades (v. 7), and the testimony to the risen and ascended Lord (vv. 9, 12 f.).[1]

One other passage in Paul's letters is important, because it exhibits the theme of antithesis as well as the characteristics of a primitive formula of faith. This is Rom. 1.3, 4:

περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα
τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα
ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

The formulary character[2] of the passage is apparent from the parallelism of the relative clauses, the first speaking of the human origin of Jesus as being from the seed of David, and the second of his designation as the Son of God according to the spirit of holiness by his resurrection.[3] The antithesis is apparent in the contrast between Jesus' humanity and his designation as Son of God, expressed by a series of three opposites:

(1) τοῦ γενομένου[4] — τοῦ ὁρισθέντος[5]
(2) ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ — υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει
(3) κατὰ σάρκα[6] — κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης
(ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν).

The Davidic descent of Jesus is mentioned by Paul only here (cf. Mt. 1.1; Acts 2.30; Rev. 5.5); its presence is probably due to

[1] So E. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247; cf. Jn. 3.13; 6.38, 62; 20.17.

[2] It is called a "confession of faith" by Dodd (*Romans*, p. 5) and Michel (*op. cit.*, p. 31), "a brief (perhaps credal) formula" by Barrett (*op. cit.*, p. 18), and a handed-down formula by R. Bultmann (*Theology of the New Testament* [E.T., New York, 1951], vol. 1, p. 49).

[3] A. M. Hunter (*Predecessors*, pp. 26-27), upon a suggestion from T. W. Manson, advocates a triadic arrangement, which is presupposed in the Syriac Peshitta version. The three clauses are (1) "Who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh," (2) "Who was appointed Son of God with power according to the Holy Spirit," and (3) "As a result of the resurrection of the dead Jesus Christ our Lord."

[4] For ὁ γενόμενος cf. Gal. 4.4:

ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ
γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός,
γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον.

[5] Ὁρίζειν is found only here in Paul's letters, once in Heb (4.7), and elsewhere in Luke-Acts (Lk. 22.22; Acts 2.23; 10.42; 11.29; 17.26, 31).

[6] This refers to the humanity of Jesus; cf. Rom. 9.5, ἐξ ὧν (the Israelites) ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα; II Cor. 5.16, εἰ καὶ ἐγνώσκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν; I Tim. 3.16, ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί; also Rom. 8.3.

the circumstance that he is quoting or referring to a formula and that he wishes to demonstrate his "orthodoxy" to the Roman church by acknowledging the primitive faith.[1] The concept of Jesus as the fulfillment of the messianic hope is certainly primitive,[2] and the pre-Pauline origin of the formula in Rom. 1.3, 4 seems assured. Essentially the formula expresses that Jesus was born son of David, but designated Son of God by virtue of the resurrection. The entire formula is summarized in the titles and/or names given in apposition.

By way of summary, it may be said that the letters of Paul contain basically three forms or patterns which appear to be related to the primitive *homologia*: the simple formula κύριος Ἰησοῦς, the two-article formula which refers to Jesus as Lord and to God as Father, and an antithetical pattern, appearing in several forms, in which a contrast is drawn between the earthly career of Jesus and the new position granted him in the resurrection.

The evidence clearly indicates that the basic *homologia* in the Pauline epistles is the simple formula κύριος Ἰησοῦς. The precise relationship of the two-article formula and the antithetical pattern to this *homologia* is less certain, and judgment on the problem is withheld until the meaning of the *homologia* (sec. B) and its *Sitz im Leben* (sec. C) are discussed.

B. THE MEANING OF THE *HOMOLOGIA* ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ

Attention must now be directed to determining the meaning of the basic *homologia*, "Jesus is Lord," as it is used in the letters of Paul. In view of the fact that a considerable amount of debate still continues regarding the concept of *lordship* and the use of κύριος in the New Testament,[3] it is imperative to survey Paul's use

[1] So Dodd (*Romans*, p. 5), Bultmann (*Theology*, vol. 1, p. 49), Michel (*op. cit.*, p. 31) and Barrett (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

[2] See Acts 9.22: in Damascus Paul confounded the Jews by proving ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (cf. 18.5, 28).

[3] In the debate of the twentieth century, three positions have been taken regarding the application of the title κύριος to Jesus Christ: (1) Christianity received the title and much of its connotation directly from the religious terminology and theology of the Septuagint (W. W. Graf von Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum* [Giessen, 1929, 4 vols.]; J. C. O'Neill, "The Use of Kyrios in the Book of Acts," *SJT*, 8 [1955], pp. 155-174). (2) The Christian belief in the lordship of Jesus stems from Hellenistic sources, either from the Hellenistic oriental religions (W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* [Göttingen, 1913]; R. Bultmann, *Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 51-52) or as a protest

of the word κύριος and to ascertain the antecedents and/or sources of his use and understanding of the term. In this way it will be possible to understand the meaning of κύριος in the *homologia* itself.

Paul uses the word κύριος a few times in its classical meaning of master or owner [1] and once as a general designation of the pagan deities.[2] He also uses κύριος for God,[3] as does the Septuagint, where the Greek word translates the Hebrew יהוה. Most frequently Paul reserves the title for Jesus Christ.

It is difficult to find any significant example of κύριος in the Pauline literature which refers clearly to the earthly life of Jesus.[4] I Cor. 2.9 states that the rulers of this age crucified the Lord of glory, but here δόξα may indicate that more than a purely historical reference is intended. He also speaks of the brothers of the Lord (I Cor. 9.5; Gal. 1.19), probably thinking of the earthly Jesus and his human relationship, but again the human career is not emphasized. Problems are involved in understanding the intention of Paul's references to the command of the Lord (I Cor. 7.10, 25), to what he received from the Lord (11.23), or to his authority from the Lord (II Cor. 13.10); but whether these refer to the tradition which Paul received from his predecessors, or the Spirit of the Lord speaking to him, or his encounter with the resurrected Lord, none specifically refers to the earthly life of Jesus.

Frequently, however, Paul uses κύριος in contexts which have reference to the death and resurrection of Jesus. For example, he glories in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ (Gal. 6.14), and by means of the Lord's Supper Christians proclaim the death of the

against ruler-cults (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* [London, 1909]). (3) Christian belief in the lordship of Jesus arose either during the life of Jesus itself (G. Vos, "The Continuity of the Kyrios Title in the New Testament," *PTR*, 13 [1915], pp. 156 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, "Κύριος Ἰησοῦς," *ZNW*, 30 [1931], pp. 97-123) or from his resurrection and ascension (V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus* [London, 1953], pp. 38-51; Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

[1] Rom. 14.4; Gal. 4.1; Eph. 6.5 ff.; Col. 3.22 ff.

[2] I Cor. 8.5.

[3] Outside of references to the Old Testament (e.g. Rom. 4.8; 9.28, 29; 10. 16), Paul's use of κύριος to refer to God becomes problematical. Bauer (*Wörterbuch, sub voce*) names Eph. 6.7 and II Thes. 3.3 as examples, but these may as easily refer to Jesus Christ (cf. I Cor. 4.19; II Thes. 3.16; I Thes. 4.6). The clearest reference of κύριος to God, i.e. I Cor. 10.9, is clouded by textual problems (P^{46} D Marc Iren Clem Alex Orig read *Christ* rather than *Lord*).

[4] Dobschütz (*op. cit.*, p. 116), however, finds eleven allusions; e.g. I Cor. 7.10, 12, 25; 9.14; 11.23; I Thes. 2.15.

Lord until he comes (I Cor. 11.26). It is God who raised the Lord (6.14; II Cor. 4.14) and who subsequently will raise the believer. Indeed, it is his death and resurrection which has made Jesus the Lord: "for this purpose Christ died and lived, in order that he might be Lord (κυριεύσῃ) of both the dead and the living" (Rom. 14.9).[1] This usage, it will be seen, is in keeping with other writings of the New Testament, where κύριος is ordinarily reserved for speaking of the risen Lord.

In view of this usage one is not surprised that Paul frequently uses the term in referring of the ascended Lord. Both slaves and masters need to remember that they have a Lord in heaven (Eph. 6.9; Col. 4.1). To be at home in the body is to be away from the Lord, but to be away from the body is to be home with the Lord (πρὸς τὸν κύριον; II Cor. 5.6-8). It is significant that κύριος is used in an apocalyptic context of the coming of the Lord (I Thes. 4.15; I Cor. 4.5), who will descend from heaven (I Thes. 4.16); similarly, the phrase, ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (I Cor. 1.8; 5.5; II Cor. 1.14),[2] has apocalyptic connotations.[3] It appears clear, therefore, that (contrary to Bultmann's view that it is not an eschatological title) [4] Paul uses κύριος in an eschatological sense.

Occasionally Paul uses κύριος in referring to the pre-existence of Jesus Christ. In II Cor. 8.9 he speaks of the Lord who, though being rich, for our sake became poor. In I Cor. 8.6 there is an allusion to his presence at creation; here Paul says there is one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.

Κύριος is also used in speaking of the integral relationship between Jesus Christ and the Christian, both as an individual and as a member of the body of believers. The characteristic phrase that describes this relationship is ἐν κυρίῳ,[5] which appears to describe that sphere or realm in which the Christian moves. For example, in Rom. 16 Paul uses the prepositional phrase seven times to indicate those Christian acquaintances who are ἐν κυρίῳ. The Christian's

[1] Cf. Rom. 1.4, where Paul states that Christ Jesus is designated Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

[2] All three references contain textual problems as to which of the names are included; nevertheless, they refer to the day of the Lord Jesus (I Cor. 5.5 may refer to God).

[3] Cf. ἀποκάλυψις (I Cor. 1.7) and ἐπιφάνεια (I Tim. 6.14).

[4] Bultmann, *Theology*, vol. 2, p. 36.

[5] Elsewhere in the New Testament the phrase is found only in Rev. 14.14

labor is not in vain ἐν κυρίῳ (I Cor. 15.58); the believer hopes ἐν κυρίῳ (Phil. 2.19), is persuaded ἐν κυρίῳ (2.24), rejoices ἐν κυρίῳ (3.1), has faith ἐν κυρίῳ (Eph. 1.15). The Lord thus is near to the Christian (Phil. 4.5); he gives instructions (I Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23) and guidance (16.7). Three times Paul sought the Lord to request the removal of his affliction (II Cor. 12.8). The Lord was invoked in prayer, as is proved by the survival of the Aramaic *marana tha*, "Our Lord, come!" (I Cor. 16.22).[1] The Lord is the Spirit (II Cor. 3.17, 18).

Thus, it is clear that for Paul κύριος in most instances designates Jesus Christ, the heavenly, ascended Lord, but also the Lord present in the church. Frequently the word is used to refer to the position of Jesus Christ as the overruling one to whom the believer is subject in a life of obedience, who is the master of the Christian, the source of his new life, the object of his invocation and praise.

Scholars generally are agreed that the concept of κύριος as applied to Jesus did not originate with Paul. The widespread use of the title in the early Christian literature indicates an early adoption or adaptation of the title to designate Jesus. The primitive church before Paul no doubt had used the term in referring to Jesus. Indeed, some have argued that it goes back to the life of Jesus itself, where the title *lord* (Aramaic מָרָא, מָר) [2] was applied to Jesus and later translated by the Greek κύριος when the church became Greek-speaking.[3] The evidence of the gospels is significant at this point. In Mk. κύριος is used only twice in referring to Jesus, if the vocative κύριε is excluded:[4] the nominative occurs in 11.3, ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔχει,[5] and 12.37, where Jesus quotes Ps. 110.1

[1] Cf. pp. 54-56 below.

[2] For the linguistic problems concerned with relating the Aramaic *mar* and *rab* to the Greek *kyrios*, see Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 ff., and Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83. The relation of *mar* and *adôn* to *kyrios* is discussed by F. C. Grant, *An Introduction to New Testament Thought* (New York, 1950), pp. 130-134.

[3] Dobschütz (*op. cit.*, p. 106) finds that the title *lord* is linked with the life of Jesus itself, while G. Vos ("The Kyrios Christos Controversy," *PTR*, 15 [1917], p. 25) argues that the *concept* rather than the *title* arose during Jesus' life.

[4] The vocative κύριε appears only once in Mk. (7.28); the other three gospels use it frequently.

[5] Even here ὁ κύριος may be taken as the familiar address of the disciples (see P. Althaus, "Unser Herr Jesus," *NKZ*, 26 [1915], p. 532, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 327; cf. Mk. 14.14, ὁ διδάσκαλος). Others take ὁ κύριος to refer to the master of the colt (see V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 42).

in identifying himself as the Lord who is superior to David. The evidence in Matthew and John is similar, although in Luke the title is freely employed. It seems best to conclude that the title *lord* was used during the life of Jesus, but usually only in a peripheral way—in familiar address, in the parables, in referring to Ps. 110. More importantly, the gospels indicate that during the life of Jesus many persons possessed a conviction of his *lordship*, arising from the authority of his teaching, from his ability to withstand his enemies, from his power over unclean spirits—a conviction which matured following the resurrection.

It is particularly the resurrection and ascension of Jesus which brought to the apostles the full realization of the real person of their Master.[1] He was now the ascended Lord, seated at the right hand of the Father. In Acts 2.34-36, after quoting Ps. 110.1, Peter says to the Jews, "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God has made him both *Lord* and *Christ*, this Jesus whom you crucified." The frequent references in the Christological formulas to the resurrection [2] demonstrate its importance in the thought of the primitive church.

That Paul received his concept of Jesus as κύριος in part from the primitive, Aramaic speaking church has been deduced from the presence of the phrase *marana tha* [3] preserved in I Cor. 16.22.[4] It is

[1] Many scholars emphasize the resurrection and ascension as the event which gave birth to the concept of Jesus as ὁ κύριος; see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 43; F. C. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 58. B. W. Bacon ("Jesus as Lord," *HTR*, 4 [1911], pp. 214-215) gives prominence to the day of Pentecost as the event which gave the primitive church the full realization of the resurrected and ascended Lord.

[2] For such formulas in the book of Acts, see below, pp. 120-122; for Paul, see above, pp. 45-49.

[3] This may be taken to be indicative, "Our Lord has come"; but Rev. 22.20, ἀμήν, ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ, favors the imperative, "Our Lord, come!" Cf. Did. 10.6 where it is indicated that the formula was used in the early liturgy of the Lord's Supper. For a discussion of the problems relating to the Aramaic phrase, see J. Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-286, and C. Fabricius, "Urbekenntnisse der Christenheit," in *Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 21-41. Recently C. F. D. Moule has revived the view that *maranatha* in I Cor. 16.22 is part of the ban-formula (*NTS*, 6 [1960], pp. 307-310).

[4] In the first edition of *Kyrios Christos* (1913), Bousset suggested that *maranatha* was a translation from the Greek made in bilingual Antioch for the sake of Aramaic-speaking believers. In his *Nachträge* (*Jesus der Herr*, Göttingen, 1916), Bousset changed his view, advocating that it was a Jewish curse referring to God; but in the second edition of *Kyrios Christos* (1921) he returned to his original position. Bultmann (*Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 51-52)

interesting that the exact equivalent of *marana*, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, is found frequently in the Pauline writings, particularly in the form ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.[1] The *homologia* itself was in all likelihood received by Paul from the primitive church,[2] for it is quoted by him as a confession well-known in the several churches to which he wrote, namely, Rome (Rom. 10.9), Corinth (I Cor. 12.3), and Philippi (Phil. 2.11).

The concept of κύριος in the language and understanding of Paul was therefore greatly influenced by the primitive church before him. Probably minimal was the direct dependence upon the historical Jesus. But Paul inherited the early church's conviction that in the resurrection and ascension, God had made Jesus the Lord, now seated at the right hand of God. By the manner in which Paul uses κύριος of Jesus Christ, he indicates an earlier history of such usage in the primitive church, where κύριος was uttered in invocations (I Cor. 16.22), in confessions (Rom. 10.9), and in the proclamation (Acts 2.34-36).

The Septuagint also influenced Paul in his understanding and use of the κύριος-title.[3] While he does not freely quote from the

argues that the Aramaic form does not prove that Jesus was invoked as Lord; the phrase originally may have referred to God and was later taken to refer to Jesus. Yet, even on this ground it is highly significant that the early church applied to Jesus a formula previously used in invoking God. As A. E. J. Rawlinson observes, "the phrase *maranatha* is the Achilles heel of the theory of Bousset" (*The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ* [London, 1926], p. 235), and the only satisfying conclusion is that the phrase represents a piece of tradition which goes back to the Aramaic-speaking community; cf. H. Riesenfeld, "The Mythological Background of New Testament Christology," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, ed. by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge, 1956), p. 94.

[1] S. J. Case, "Κύριος as a Title for Christ," *JBL*, 26 (1907), p. 152, finds that in 44 of 61 instances when the three names and/or titles are found together the personal pronoun is used.

[2] There is general agreement that the confession is pre-Pauline. Bousset and Bultmann postulate its origin in the Hellenist church, while Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 51) says "we do not need to take a step outside Palestine to account for the confession 'Jesus is Lord.' "

[3] The influence of the Septuagint was almost wholly neglected by Bousset. Bultmann (*Theology*, vol. 1, p. 124) states that it was used in the church, but after Jesus was called Lord. For the most comprehensive treatment of the subject see Baudissin (*op. cit.*). J. C. O'Neill (*op. cit.*, pp. 155-174), who rejects the influence of Hellenistic religious usage, argues that the concepts of God in Judaism were the very ones used to proclaim the significance of Jesus' incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension. "These events could only be set forth adequately by calling him Lord, the title hitherto belonging to YHWH" (p. 174).

Old Testament in naming Jesus Christ as κύριος, in at least three passages he applies to Jesus Old Testament references which refer to God,[1] Rom. 10.13 (Joel 3.5), I Cor. 2.16 (Isa. 40.13), and Phil. 2.11 (Isa. 45.23). In most cases the direct quotations in which κύριος is found are applied to God rather than Jesus Christ, and perhaps Bultmann's judgment is basically sound, that references from the Septuagint were applied to Jesus as proof-texts after he was called Lord in the church.[2]

A more decided influence is to be found in some of the thought-forms and phrases which Paul adopts. It is striking that θεός and κύριος of the Septuagint, so frequently joined together in the phrase "the Lord God," are in a sense separated and made to apply to God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.[3] Κύριος, which in the Septuagint was used to express the tetragrammaton, is now applied in almost all cases to Jesus Christ as Lord. Frequently this separation of titles is found in the epistolary introduction, "grace and peace to you from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ," [4] but at times the position of the Lord appears subordinated to the supremacy of God.[5]

Moreover, the strong affirmations of the supreme lordship of Christ contain reflections of the monotheistic atmosphere of the Septuagint. He is Lord of all (Rom. 10.12). God has highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every tongue confess, "Jesus is Lord" (Phil. 2.9-11); the *name*, belonging to God in the Old Testament, is now given to Jesus. In addition, one observes that such Old Testament phrases as "the Lord of glory" (I Cor. 2.8), "the word of the Lord" (Col. 3.16; I Thes. 1.8; 4.15; II Thes. 3.1), "the day of the Lord" (I Cor. 1.8; 5.5; I Thes. 5.2; II Thes. 2.2), and "the name of the Lord" (Rom. 5.4; 10.13; I Cor. 1.2; 6.11; Eph. 5.20; Col. 3.17; II Thes. 1.12; 3.6) are all applied by Paul to Jesus.

[1] Isa. 40.13 (I Cor. 2.16) is applied to God in Rom. 11.34, as is also Isa. 45.23 (Phil. 2.11) in Rom. 14.11.

[2] *Theology*, vol. 1, p. 124.

[3] Cf. I Cor. 8.6, εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ . . . εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Κύριος ὁ θεός is used in the manner of the Septuagint several times in Acts and frequently in Rev.; the double name is applied to Jesus and to God only in James 1.1; I Pet. 1.3; II Pet. 1.2, outside of Pauline usage.

[4] E.g. Gal. 1.3; Eph. 1.2; I Thes. 1.1.

[5] Note "the God and Father *of* our Lord Jesus Christ" (e.g. Rom. 15.6; II Cor. 11.31; Col. 1.3), and the several ascriptions to God *through* (διά) the Lord (Rom. 5.1, 11; 7.25; cf. 8.39).

It is doubtless unwarranted to conclude that the Septuagint is the source of Paul's thought concerning Jesus as Lord, but it certainly exercised strong influence. The aurora of the Greek Old Testament glows from the pages of Paul's letters. The meaning of the *homologia*, therefore, will in part need to be understood upon this background.

The Hellenistic world of Paul's day also made considerable use of the word κύριος, and its influence upon Paul's thought must be taken into account. It was Bousset, more than anyone else, who strongly advocated that κύριος must be understood exclusively against this Hellenistic background.[1]

It is true that in the pre-Christian era the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt were referred to as κύριοι,[2] and later the Roman emperors became the object of the ruler-cult.[3] It is well established that the worship, or at least the public acknowledgment, of Caesar as κύριος was observed during the period of Paul's activity. But when the attempt is made to find a relationship between this practice and the Christian use of κύριος, there is wide disagreement. Some scholars have suggested that the Christian use and understanding was strongly influenced by the popular ruler-cult,[4] and there is evidence to support the position that the confession κύριος Ἰησοῦς had important polemical implications.[5] But to say that the *homologia* came to have a polemical function in the Hellenistic world does not mean that κύριος or its concept first emerged in this milieu, for the tension between Christianity and the ruler-cult was felt in Paul's day only to a degree, and not universally until the time of Domitian; whereas the confession "Jesus is Lord" is pre-Pauline.

In the religious cults of the Hellenistic world the gods and goddesses were freely referred to as κύριοι and κυρίαι. Though there is disagreement as to the nature and extent of their influence, most

[1] *Op cit.*, pp. 75-101; he is followed, among others, by W. Morgan, *The Religion and Theology of Paul* (Edinburgh, 1917), and Bultmann, *Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 51-52, 124-128.

[2] E.g. τοῦ κυρίου βασιλ(έ)ως θεοῦ (OGIS 186, 8; 62 B.C.).

[3] Deissmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 355-356) found that the emperors were not called κύριος in the West until the time of Domitian, largely because of the emphasis upon the "principate" (Caesar is *first*) rather than the "dominate" (Caesar is *lord*). In the East, however, under the influence of the oriental religions, they were called *Lord* at an earlier date. Note e.g. that Herod (OGIS 415) and Augustus (BGU 1200.11) are given the title κύριος.

[4] Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 359; Moulton and Milligan, *ad loc.*; Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[5] *Infra*, pp. 64 ff. Cf. Acts 17.7; Mar. Poly. 8.2.

scholars seem to agree that the religious use of κύριος was widespread in Paul's day and that it stems from the oriental-Egyptian religions.[1] In contrast to the Greek gods, who were more closely associated with mankind, the oriental deities are lords over the world and its parts, over the destiny or fate of man, they are masters of man himself. In the process of Hellenization, the Greek word was used as a title for various deities in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor,[2] beginning about 100 B.C.[3]

According to several scholars, it was the currency of the religious cults, where the several deities were called κύριοι, which gave impetus to the early Christian cult of the Lord Jesus.[4] While a number of similarities exist between the practices of Christianity and the cults,[5] it must be examined whether these parallels are genetically related or are merely analogical. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that there are great differences between the primitive Christian view of Jesus and the popular Hellenistic religious attitude toward deities. The κύριοι of the mystery religions were "nebulous figures of the imaginary past," [6] while the Lord of the Christians was known as a historical person; the κύριοι of the Hermetic literature were pantheistic spirits and vague designations

[1] Κύριος is not used in a religious sense in classical writers; the word apparently (so Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 23, col. 176) is used but once as a predicate for the gods, Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος (Pin. *Isth.* 5.53). Foerster (*KTW*, vol. 3, p. 1040), after surveying the classical usage, concludes that the Greek gods cannot properly be named κύριοι, since the basic Greek thought is the unity or interrelationship between gods and men, a democratic ideal, and so this relationship cannot be described in terms of the κύριος-δοῦλος antithesis.

[2] Cf. ὁ κυριώτατος θεὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ (OGIS 90.39; second century B.C.); two first century B.C. examples are αἱ τῶν κυρίων θεῶν κωμασίαι (OGIS 194.25) and θύειν τοῖς κυρίοις θεοῖς (OGIS 194.29).

[3] W. Foerster (*KTW*, vol. 3, p. 1048) finds that κύριος was not used of a god prior to 100 B.C., the earliest example being an ascription to Isis in Egypt (99-90 B.C.).

[4] Particularly Bousset (*op. cit.*, pp. 85-99), who conjectured that the Christian cult was developed independent of the Palestine church and of the apostles, being influenced wholly by the religious environment of Antioch, Tarsus, and Damascus.

[5] See A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Environment," in *Essays on the Trinity and Incarnation* (A. E. J. Rawlinson, ed., London, 1928), p. 87, and Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 49. W. Foerster (*Herr ist Jesus* [Gütersloh, 1924], pp. 69-98) carefully examines the sources and notes major differences.

[6] B. M. Metzger, "Relation of Mystery Religions to Early Christianity," *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 2, p. 772. See also the more detailed study by Metzger in *HTR*, 48 (1955), pp. 1-20.

without specific names,[1] while the Christian Lord was a living being, personal and historical; the cult-κύριος was lord of his own adherents and there was recognition of other gods,[2] but Jesus Christ was regarded as Lord of all, over the living and the dead, for there is εἷς κύριος.

What then is the meaning of κύριος as applied to Jesus Christ in the Pauline letters? It would appear that there are two foci about which Paul's thinking revolves: the exalted Lord and the present Lord.

As has been noted, Paul received the concept of the risen and exalted Lord from the primitive church, although it must have been confirmed by his own experience. He also received his basic eschatological ideas from the primitive church. But with Paul the understanding of the role of the acended Lord is enlarged and enriched. The implication of the exaltation is expanded so that the Jesus whom God made Lord becomes the Lord of all, the only Lord, before whom every knee shall bow. From this firm conviction Paul's thought moves into the past (the pre-existent Lord) and into the future (the coming Lord).

The other focal point, that of the present Lord, is a noteworthy development in Paul's thought. This reality, characterized by ἐν κυρίῳ, may have been part of the primitive church's legacy to Paul, but it was he who expressed and developed it. This involves the intimate relationship of the Christian with his Lord. The Lord is the center and at the same time the sphere of the Christian's life. Worship is conducted in the name of the Lord, prayer is offered through him. He is present at the table of the Lord, the Lord's supper. Baptism is administered in his name to those who confess Jesus as Lord. The Lord gives instructions and authority to the Apostle. In short, the Lord is near; the Lord is the Spirit.

C. THE LIFE SITUATION OF THE *HOMOLOGIA*

Attention must now be directed to a consideration of evidence in the Pauline letters as to how the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς was used in the primitive church. Sometimes the *Sitz im Leben* is apparent from the context in which the *homologia* is expressed, but usually it is not easily determined. While an interesting and wide usage is evident, precision in describing the situation is not pos-

[1] E.g. *C.H.* 13.21, σὺ πάτερ, σὺ ὁ κύριος, σὺ ὁ νοῦς.
[2] See Foerster, *Herr ist Jesus*, p. 77.

sible, and inevitably certain references in the Pauline literature may be interpreted in different ways.

Basically, there were three general areas in which the *homologia* was utilized by the early church. The first was in the very life of the Christian community, that is, in worship, in baptism, and in preaching. Secondly, the *homologia* seems to have had importance in times of persecution, when the confession meant the open declaration of Christian faith despite the presence of opponents. Thirdly, the formula had a polemical function in combatting various disruptive forces infringing upon the primitive Christian community.

The title κύριος itself bears what has been called "cultic" overtones and thus may have been used freely in the worship and liturgy of the primitive church.[1] Yet when the *homologia* which contains the κύριος-title is considered, this liturgical function is not so prominent as one might have supposed.

A setting of worship is suggested by the important Christological passage at Phil. 2.5-11 in which the *homologia* is expressed. Not only may the passage as a whole be taken as an early Christian hymn which was used in worship,[2] but the *homologia* utilized within the hymn is itself given a liturgical setting. Worship is suggested by the bowing of all knees before Jesus. Furthermore, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, when understood in light of the prefix ἐκ and of its use in the Septuagint,[3] suggests that the *homologia* was given as an *open confession* or even as *praise* and *acclamation.*

If I Cor. 12.3 is interpreted in the light of the prophetic utterances with which Paul is concerned, the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς has a place as an acclamation in the assembled congregation.[4] In

[1] This has been emphasized particularly by those who draw a close parallel between early Christian worship and the Hellenistic religious cults (Bousset, Morgan, Bultmann).

[2] Cullmann (*op. cit.*, p. 22) calls this passage "one of the first confessions of faith composed for the worship of the primitive community." E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus,* finds the passage to be a liturgical hymn of Aramaic origin. For a recent survey of scholarly opinions about this passage, see Ralph P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession* (London, 1960).

[3] *Supra,* p. 15.

[4] J. Moffatt (*I Corinthians,* p. 178) paraphrases, "As no one is really inspired when he shouts '*Cursed be Jesus*!' in the synagogue, so no one in the church can utter the confession, '*Jesus is Lord,*' unless he is inspired by that Spirit." He favors, however, the view that the tension between church and the outside world is the setting implied by the context. E. Peterson (*op. cit.*, p. 147) believes that both ἀνάθεμα and κύριος arose from the language of acclamation.

view, however, of the ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς and the place of the Spirit, it seems best to understand this verse in the setting of persecution.[1]

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that confession of Jesus as Lord was made in connection with the rite of baptism. It may be argued that the confession has a direct relationship to references of baptism "in the name of Jesus" (Acts. 2.38; 19.5; cf. I Cor. 1.13).[2] It is possible that in Rom. 10.9 there is an example of the *homologia* in the context of baptism: "If you confess with your mouth, 'Jesus is Lord,' and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you shall be saved." The important ideas expressed in this verse—ὁμολογήσῃς, πιστεύσῃς, σωθήσῃς—are obviously appropriate for baptism.[3] Not quite as certain is the *Sitz im Leben* reflected by Rom. 14.7-9.[4] Here the anthithetical formula ἀπέθανεν—ἔζησεν is utilized, together with other Christological references to κύριος; that it had a place in Christian baptism may be suggested by the reference to the believer's *dying* and *living*.[5]

One may understand the statement of Rom. 10.9 (quoted above) in yet another way, that is, by interpreting it in the light of v. 8: "This is the word of faith (τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως) which we preach (κηρύσσομεν), that if you confess . . . ." The *homologia* is then related to the Christian proclamation or *kerygma*. It is possible to take the word ῥῆμα, said to be near in the mouth and in the heart, as the subject matter of the gospel[6] proclaimed by the church; the two parts of this are the lordship of Jesus, that is, the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς, and the belief that God raised him from the dead. Accordingly the *homologia* is not only related to the proclamation

[1] *Infra*, pp. 63-64.

[2] So O. Michel, p. 227; C. H. Dodd, *Romans*, pp. 166-167; A. M. Hunter, *Predecessors*, p. 31.

[3] So Barrett, *Romans*, p. 200.

[4] O. Michel (*op. cit.*, p. 303) argues that a baptismal confession is here utilized; he points to the rhythmic character, the "we" style, the Christological statements, and the strongly objective character.

[5] Cf. II Tim. 2.11-13, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος·
εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν·
εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν·
εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς·
εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει,
ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται.

[6] C. A. A. Scott (*Christianity According to St. Paul* [Cambridge, 1927], p. 119) refers to τὸ ρῆμα τῆς πίστεως as "the formula which expresses faith," while Hunter (*op. cit.*, p. 31) calls it "the gospel message."

but is actually a part of the *kerygma*. In support of this interpretation is the statement of II Cor. 4.5, "For we preach (κηρύσσομεν) not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord (Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον)."[1] There is additional evidence of a relationship between "confession" and *kerygma* to be found in the longer Christological formulas of Rom. 1.1-3 and I Cor. 15.1 ff.[2]

While the evidence which is presented above is not conclusive, cumulatively it suggests that the *homologia* had a firm place in the total life of the church. The confession of Jesus as Lord was used in worship, in baptism, and in proclamation.

Although I Cor. 12.3 may possibly refer to acclamation in worship,[3] the primary reference suggests the background of controversy and persecution.[4] The situation seems to reflect a time when Christians were put to the test by their opponents, when to confess Jesus meant persecution and to anthematize him meant liberty. One is reminded of the account in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, when Polycarp is asked not only to say κύριος Καῖσαρ (8.2), but also to curse his Master (9.2);[5] instead, he confesses himself to be a Christian (10.1; 12.1).[6] In the letter of Pliny to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.96) there is also a reference to the demand that Christians must curse (*maledicere*) Christ. The reference to the Spirit in I Cor. 12.3, therefore, is probably to be understood in the light of such passages as Mt. 10. 17-20, where the disciples are admonished not to be concerned about what they are to say in time of persecution, "for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you" (v. 20).[7]

The *homologia* served therefore as an oath of loyalty of the Christian by which he openly acknowledged his faith before some hostile group. The references in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and Pliny mentioned above suggest a conflict with pagans. In accord with this is also the acknowledgment of Jesus to his own person

[1] Cf. Acts 11.20, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν; 5.42, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 50-51; 47-48.

[3] See above p. 61.

[4] Cullmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 28-30) strongly advocates this interpretation.

[5] Βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου.

[6] Χριστιανός εἰμι (10.1); Πολύκαρπος ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι (12.1).

[7] Cf. I Tim. 6.12, 13; I Jn. 4.2, 3; in Mt. 16.16, following Peter's confession, Jesus says, "flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven."

during his trial[1] as well as the charge against the Christians brought to the authorities in Acts 17.7.[2] It is also possible that I Cor. 12.3 reflects a Christian-Jewish controversy.[3] The use of ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς suggests a situation in which Christians would formally curse Jesus upon their return to and readmittance into Judaism. Paul indicates that he tried to compel the Christians in the synagogues to blaspheme (βλασφημεῖν, Acts 26.11). Justin Martyr (*Trypho* 47) also refers to Christians who return to Judaism and who anathematize him (i.e. Jesus) as the Christ.[4]

Although it is not possible to decide conclusively between a Jewish and a non-Jewish conflict, it seems certain that I Cor. 12.3 reflects a controversy, if not open persecution, where the Christian was expected to express his loyalty: he had either to acknowledge Jesus by the *homologia* or to disown him by the *anathema*. The one who openly confessed Jesus as Lord was prompted by the Spirit of God; but the one who uttered the *anathema* could never do so by the Spirit, though done under the pretense of inspiration.[5]

A function of the *homologia* in the early church, not unrelated to the previous discussion on controversy, is its use polemically against false beliefs and concepts which were in conflict with true Christian faith. In a sense the use of the *homologia* in times of persecution had a polemical interest against those demanding the denial of Jesus as Lord (the *anathema*), whether they were Roman officials or leaders of the synagogue.

The confession κύριος Ἰησοῦς, as has already been noted, was

[1] Mk. 15.2, 9, 26, 32; cf. 14.61, 62. I Tim. 6.13, "Christ Jesus who testified the good confession before Pontius Pilate."

[2] Paul and his party are reported to have said that "Jesus is another King" (βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν).

[3] Moffatt (*I Corinthians*, pp. 178-179) and A. Robertson and A. Plummer (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, New York, 1911, p. 261) favor a Jewish setting.

[4] . . . τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καταναθεματίσαντας καὶ καταναθεματίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χριστόν. Cf. also the petition added to the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* (Eighteen Benedictions) c. 100 A.D., which was directed against Jewish apostates and, in particular, Jewish Christians ("Nazarenes"); this was a form of *curse* or *anathema*; see I. Elbogen, "Eighteen Benedictions," *UJE*, vol. 4, pp. 22-27.

[5] Cf. I Jn. 4.1-3, "Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see if they are from God . . . . By this you know the Spirit of God; every spirit which confesses 'Jesus is Christ come in the flesh' is of God, but every spirit which curses Jesus (λύει Ἰησοῦν, *v.l.*) is not of God."

precisely opposed to the official Roman confession κύριος Καῖσαρ.[1] While one need not emphasize a "polemical parallelism between the cult of Christ and the cult of Caesar," [2] the *homologia* must have served to remind the Gentile Christians where their loyalty was to be directed, as it was a reminder that this loyalty did not supremely belong to Caesar.

In I Cor. 8.5-6 a polemical interest seems to be uppermost, although there is also present a concern to emphasize the cosmic roles of God and Jesus Christ: "Even though there are so-called gods both in heaven and upon earth, as there are many gods and many lords, yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and we unto him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him." When εἷς is emphasized in the statements εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ and εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, one detects an antithetical argument against the θεοὶ πολλοί and κύριοι πολλοί.[3] The presence of εἷς is in part due to the influence of the *Shema'* (Deut. 6.4), κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν, referred to in this same passage: οἴδαμεν . . . ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς (I Cor. 8.4). In applying the monotheism of the Jewish faith both to the Father and to Jesus Christ, Paul reflects the polemical force of the Christian mission and combats a polytheistic Hellenism.[4]

In addition, the predicates πατήρ and κύριος in I Cor. 8.6 convey some degree of polemical emphasis. Εἷς θεός and εἷς κύριος without further identification would be meaningless, for, in a polytheistic environment, as Corinth was, it was important that the god or lord be identified, as, for example, in the familiar acclamation κύριος Σέραπις.[5] The importance of the predicates is confirmed by Paul's frequent use of the phrase θεὸς πατὴρ in connection with κύριος Ἰησοῦς.[6]

Therefore, the expression κύριος Ἰησοῦς in all probability had

[1] *Supra*, pp. 58-59. Cf. Mar. Poly. 8.2. See H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer*, p. 97.

[2] Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[3] For the evidence of Paul's use of εἷς with θεός and κύριος, see above, pp. 44-45.

[4] Deissmann (*op. cit.*, p. 359) observed that the Gentile Christians must have found Paul's words to be a "silent protest" against the many lords and "the Lord," as Caesar was beginning to be called. See also Moulton and Milligan, "κύριος," and Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[5] Peterson (*op. cit.*, pp. 227-240) notes numerous examples in the inscriptions of Εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις. There is one example of θεὸς Σέραπις.

[6] *Supra*, p. 57.

importance in the church's resistance against the Caesar-cult of the Hellenistic world, just as εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ and εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός did against the polytheistic religious environment. But in addition, κύριος Ἰησοῦς must have had profound ramifications in a Jewish context, for the title by which the Septuagint designated God was given by the early Christians to Jesus Christ. The acclamation κύριος Ἰησοῦς and ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, as was seen above, may well reflect a Jewish setting, in which case the *homologia* would have the function of not only a positive profession of faith, but also a polemical declaration against the Jewish rejection of Jesus as Lord or, more accurately, as Christ.[1] This last must, however, remain in the area of conjecture, for the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς does not expressly have such a function in the Pauline literature.

It may be added, however, that the antithetical formulas noted above,[2] as, for example, ἀπέθανεν—ἠγέρθη, had importance in a Jewish setting. The prevalence of the formula Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπέρ τινος, with slight variations,[3] reflects an early situation where it was necessary to declare (1) that the messiah had to suffer [4] and (2) that Jesus, by virtue of his suffering (and resurrection), was the messiah. The other formula, ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν or ὁ χριστὸς ἠγέρθη,[5] also arose during an early period and probably in a Jewish setting, for again it is χριστός that is used with the formula,[6] at any rate in the passive form.

If the antithetical formulas in Paul's letters are like the *homologia* in that both express the dual emphasis of life, suffering, or death of Jesus and the resurrection or ascension of the Lord, then it well may be that the confession had a polemical pressure upon unbelieving Jews (cf. I Cor. 1.23, ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον, ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν). Moreover, in the context of I Cor. 15.3 ff., the important elements of Jesus Christ's death, burial, resurrection and appearances are cited by Paul in an argu-

[1] The *homologia* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός has great importance in the Johannine literature; see below, Chapter 5.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 45-49.

[3] Rom. 5.6, 8; 14.9, 15; I Cor. 8.11; 15.3; II Cor. 5.15 (three times); only in I Thes. 5.10 is the longer ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός used; all other references use only Χριστός.

[4] Cf. παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, Acts 3.18; ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἐδεῖ παθεῖν, 17.3; εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός, 26.23.

[5] The active and passive forms are about equal, twelve as compared with thirteen; *supra*, pp. 48-49.

[6] Rom. 4.25 is an exception.

ment against those who doubt the resurrection, and thus this passage displays a polemical use as well.[1]

D. CONCLUSION

The primitive Christian *homologia* which Paul knew and expressed in his letters was κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus is Lord." By this *homologia* Christians acknowledged two important facts relevant to their faith: (1) it is *Jesus*, the person who lived and died at a specific time in history, who (2) is the *Lord* of the Christian and of the church by virtue of his resurrection from the dead. It was the belief in this dual fact and its acknowledgment in the church which was essential to the Christian faith. For those of Jewish background it meant ascribing to Jesus the name which in the Septuagint was used in most cases for the God of their fathers; for Gentile Christians it meant the designation of Jesus as the true κύριος among many κύριοι. To all Christians it meant the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the risen and ascended Lord, the κύριος of every Christian δοῦλος, the Lord of the church, the Lord of the created world, indeed, the Lord of all.

It is not difficult to discern that the double idea contained in κύριος Ἰησοῦς is also basic to the antithetical formulas found in Paul's letters. Whether this is expressed as ὁ καταβάς—ὁ ἀναβάς, ὁ ἀποθανών—ὁ ἐγερθείς, ὁ γενόμενος—ὁ ὁρισθείς, or κατὰ σάρκα—κατὰ πνεῦμα, it is the earthly, human life of Jesus which is contrasted with the new position of authority granted by God in the resurrection. Even if these formulas may not be equated with the primitive *homologia*, they nevertheless supplement and expound what is meant by the confession "Jesus is Lord." They therefore support the conclusion that a proper emphasis should be placed upon Ἰησοῦς as well as κύριος in the *homologia*. Longer chronological summaries, as in I Cor. 15.3-5 and Phil. 2.5-11, are basically expansions of this twofold faith in the *lordship* of *Jesus*.

Paul's formula referring to God the Father and Jesus the Lord is probably not closely related to the primitive *homologia*, except the part, of course, which acknowledges Jesus as Lord. Cullmann [2] has attempted to show that the confession of God arose from the Christological confession, and that the earliest bipartite forms mentioned Jesus the Lord before they did God the Father (as in

[1] So Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

Eph. 4.5, 6), rather than vice versa (as in I Cor. 8.6). It was on the basis of the resurrection of Christ, which was accomplished by God, that the confession referring to God was added to the earlier one referring to Jesus Christ. The plausibility of this argument is supported by the frequent references to God as the one who raised Jesus from the dead (see above, p. 48, n. 4). Even in Rom. 10.9, where the *homologia* is quoted, the confession is coupled with the belief that God raised him from the dead.[1]

The primitive church utilized the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς in several ways in its faith and life. In the life and worship of the Christian community, *kyrios Jesus* was an acclamation uttered during worship (Phil. 2.11); it probably was a confession made in connection with baptism (? Rom. 10.9); it formed the heart of the *kerygma* (Rom. 10.8-10; II Cor. 4.5); and it lay at the basis of the *didache* (Col. 2.6, 7). In the relationship of the church to the non-Christian world, *kyrios Jesus* was the open acknowledgment of loyalty before pagan or Jewish opponents (I Cor. 12.3); it was the polemical declaration against Hellenistic polytheism and the Caesar-cult (I Cor. 8.5, 6); and it was an *apologia* for the Christian faith in the face of Jewish opposition (I Cor. 12.3; 15.3-5; cf. 1.23).

[1] Cf. Dodd (*Romans*, pp. 166-167), who notes that "faith in God through Christ implies that *God raised Him from the dead*. And this belief was included in the Christian confession of faith: Jesus is Lord." If this conclusion is correct, then the bipartite formula is a later, though early, development of the simple *homologia*.

CHAPTER V

THE *HOMOLOGIA* IN THE GOSPEL AND LETTERS OF JOHN

As in the letters of Paul, so in the gospel and letters of John there is decisive evidence for the existence of the primitive Christian *homologia*. One finds significant use of the verb ὁμολογεῖν and its antonym ἀρνεῖσθαι, as well as other key verbs which are discussed above in Chapter II. In addition the *homologia* is suggested by the formulary characteristics of certain phrases, and by the *Sitz im Leben* of each of the documents as a whole.

The purpose of the present chapter will be first to determine the form or forms of the *homologia* which are expressed in the gospel and letters of John. This will be done by examining the literature in the light of the criteria mentioned above. In order to determine what meaning the *homologia* had for John and for those who read his letters and gospel, an examination will be made of the historical setting of the literature and the terms used in the *homologia*. Finally, attention will be given to the function and place of the *homologia* in the life of the church, in order to ascertain the life situation to which the formula spoke and had meaning.

A. THE FORM(S) OF THE JOHANNINE *HOMOLOGIA*

Even a cursory reading of the three Johannine letters suggests that within this literature there lies an earlier tradition, such as sayings, beliefs, and formulas, which the writer has incorporated.[1] Among the several kinds of tradition referred to or utilized in the letters,

[1] Ernst von Dobschütz ("Johanneische Studien I," *ZNW*, 8 [1907], pp. 1 ff.) suggested a *Grundschrift* into which the author worked his own ideas, while R. Bultmann ("Analyse des ersten Johannesbriefes," *Festgabe für A. Jülicher* [Tübingen, 1927], pp. 138 ff.) noted three literary strata in I John, a *Vorlage* (a didactic hymn), *Gemeindetheologie*, and the author's own contribution. More recently, O. A. Piper ("I John and the Didache of the Primitive Church," *JBL*, 66 [1947], pp. 437-451) has suggested the presence of truths or teachings which were held in common by the author and the recipients of the letter; these teachings he groups under the headings, "credal statements," "theological axioms," "eschatological prophecies and convictions," "moral commandments," and "ecclesiastical rules"

one can discern credal material and, as will shortly be demonstrated, the primitive *homologia*.[1]

The *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, is clearly expressed in two passages of I John. The first declares,

> ὁ ἀρνούμενος
> ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ[2] ἔστιν ὁ χριστός... (2.22).

Here the *homologia* is placed within a negation; the denial, "Jesus is not the Christ," indicates that the true form, stated positively, was "Jesus is the Christ" (cf. II Jn. 7; Jn. 1.20). That this is the positive confession is shown not only by the antithetical character of the terminology, but also by the following statement (I Jn. 2.23), where ἀρνεῖσθαι and ὁμολογεῖν are contrasted: "Every one who denies the Son does not have the Father; he who confesses the Son also has the Father." The second statement naming Jesus as Christ is in 5.1:

> πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων
> ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός....

The *homologia* is found in a different form in 4.15:

> ὃς ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃ
> ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ...,

and in 5.5:

> ὁ πιστεύων
> ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ....

Here, not ὁ χριστός but ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the predicate of Ἰησοῦς. At this point, no great difference of meaning can be detected between the writer's use of these two titles (but see below, pp. 94-97); this judgment is supported by John's method of interchanging

[1] The credal statements which Piper identifies (*ibid.*, p. 438) are:
Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (5.1; cf. 4.2; 2.22)
ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἄρῃ (3.5)
εἰς τοῦτο ἐφανερώθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα λύσῃ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου (3.8)
ἐκεῖνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν (3.16)
αὐτὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμὸν περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (4.10; cf. 4.14)
Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (5.5; cf. 5.13)
ἀκούει ἡμῶν ὃ ἐὰν αἰτώμεθα (5.15)
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἥκει (5.20).

[2] This use of οὐ is characteristic of classical Greek; cf. B.-D., sec. 429.

χριστός and υἱός in 2.22, 23 and 5.5, 6, without apparent differentiation.

A third form of the *homologia* is introduced in 4.2:

πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ
'Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα . . .,

and in II Jn. 7:

οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες
'Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί.

To these may be added the statement in I Jn. 5.6:

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος
'Ιησοῦς Χριστός.[1]

The statement introduced by ὁμολογεῖν in 4.2 and II Jn. 7 may be understood several ways. (1) The whole formula may be taken as the direct object: "confess Jesus Christ come in the flesh." (2) *Jesus Christ* may be taken as a compound name used as the direct object, qualified by the following participial phrase: "confess Jesus Christ, who has come in the flesh." (3) *Jesus* and *Christ* may be taken as double accusatives: "confess Jesus as Christ come in the flesh." The latter is preferable in view of 4.3, πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ (*v.l.* λύει) τὸν 'Ιησοῦν . . ., as well as the nature of the Johannine Christology, which places great importance upon the earthly life of Jesus. The formula emphasizes that Jesus is the Christ, but Christ as come in the flesh.

Thus, in combatting the false teaching current in Asia Minor John called to the attention of his readers the primitive *homologia*, which dated from the very beginning of the church, as the criterion for true faith and belief, namely, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." (Whether the two predicates were intended to be synonymous or not will be considered later; see below, sec. C.) To sharpen the

[1] The different tenses in the three formulas, the perfect in 4.2, the present in II Jn. 7, and the aorist in I Jn. 5.6, should not be emphasized as having great significance. The aorist seems to refer to the historical events of baptism (ὕδατος) and death (αἵματος) and the perfect to the present significance of the historical appearance, but the usual function of the present, which according to Greek usage should mean, "Jesus Christ is coming in flesh," that is, the second Advent, does not seem to be intended (cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles* [New York, 1946], p. 149). In all three instances, it is the Incarnation of Jesus Christ to which primary reference is made.

issue which separated his own circle from that of the false teachers, John adds the further definitive statement, which was itself inherent in the earlier form, that Jesus was *Christ come in the flesh.* In the light of this expansion it is probable that in the simpler form ("Jesus is the Christ" or "Jesus is the Son of God") the subject of the *homologia* was emphasized; *Jesus* is the Christ, *Jesus* is the Son of God, the one who came into the world as an historical person.

The problem of locating and reconstructing the *homologia* in the gospel of John is more difficult than in the Johannine letters. This is largely due to the nature of the document, that is, to its being a narrative as distinct from an occasional letter. Moreover, as form criticism has shown, one must be aware not only of sources and primitive concepts, but also of the later theology and practice of the church which the writer reflects.

A form of the *homologia* which recurs with relative frequency in the gospel of John is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. This is first found in the gospel at 1.20, where John the Baptist denies that he is the messiah:

καὶ ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὡμολόγησεν,
ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ χριστός.[1]

The use here of ὁμολογεῖν with ὅτι, as well as the expression ἐγώ εἰμι (cf. οὗτός ἐστιν), points to the presence of the *homologia.* The same use of ὁμολογεῖν with the formula is also found in Jn. 9.22,[2] where it is said that the Jews had agreed

ἵνα ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσῃ χριστόν,[3]
ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται.

Other expressions refering to Jesus as the Christ which have a formulary character are:

μήποτε ἀληθῶς ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες
ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (7.26);
ἄλλοι ἔλεγον
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (7.41).

There are other suggestions in the gospel which point to the *homo-*

[1] A denial by John the Baptist is also found in 3.28, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ χριστός.

[2] See also 12.42, "Many even of the authorities believed in him, but for fear of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue."

[3] The *homologia* is expressed more clearly in manuscripts D *e*: ὁμολογήσῃ αὐτὸν χριστὸν εἶναι.

logia, "Jesus is the Christ," [1] but the foregoing examples of the formula are sufficient to prove its presence and importance.

As was true in the Johannine epistles, so too in the fourth gospel Jesus is acknowledged to be the Son of God. In 1.34, John the Baptist is quoted as declaring,

κἀγὼ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα
ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[2]

After meeting Jesus, Nathanael says,[3]

ῥαββί, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ,
σὺ βασιλεὺς εἶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (1.49).

In 10.36, Jesus admits that he has said,

υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι.[4]

These two basic designations of Jesus, as Christ and as Son of God, are twice joined in a single formula. Mary expresses her faith (11.27):

ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα
ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος.[5]

In the second example (20.31) the Evangelist indicates his purpose in writing the gospel:

ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύητε
ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

These instances support the tentative conclusion reached above (p. 70) in reference to the epistles of John, namely, that there is no significant difference in the way the writer utilizes the titles

[1] Note, for example, 10.24, where the Jewish leaders ask Jesus, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός; in 4.25 the Samaritan woman says, οἶδα ὅτι μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός, to which Jesus replies, ἐγώ εἰμι.

[2] Instead of ὁ υἱός, ὁ ἐκλεκτός is found in P^{5} ℵ* *e* sy sin cur Amb (the conflate reading ἐκλεκτὸς υἱός is in a b sah). The meaning, however, is practically the same.

[3] It is possible to take the words of Nathanael as a question, but Jesus' answer supports the view that the statement represents Nathanael's confession of belief.

[4] The anarthrous form is unusual in the Johannine literature; see T. Nicklin, *Gospel Gleanings* (London, 1950), pp. 211-236; also E. C. Colwell, "A Definite Rule for the Use of the Article in the Greek New Testament," *JBL*, 52 (1933), pp. 12-21.

[5] With the final phrase, cf. 4.25; 6.14; I Jn. 4.2; 5.6; II Jn. 7.

Christ and *Son of God.* Whether used separately or together in the *homologia,* these two predicates represent the identification of Christ, the Son of God, with Jesus: "*Jesus* is the Christ, the Son of God."

Besides ὁ χριστός and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ the fourth gospel contains many other Christological titles and/or names which are ascribed to Jesus and which appear to have a formulary sense. In the section comprising Jn. 1.19-51, which C. H. Dodd appropriately calls the "Testimony," [1] the Evangelist quite deliberately introduces several titles current in the primitive church as testimonies supporting the messiahship of Jesus. Here, besides *Christ* (1.41) and *Son of God* (1.34, 49), Jesus is called the *prophet* (1.21,25, by implication; more clearly in 6.14; 7.41), the *Lamb of God* (1.29, 36), "him of whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (1.45), the *King of Israel* (1.49), and the *Son of man* (1.51). Later in the gospel one finds the designations *the Savior of the world* (4.42) and *the Holy One of God* (6.69). The specific formulas which are expressed in the gospel include the following:

ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (4.42; cf. I Jn. 4.14)
ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν (5.27; cf. 3.13; 9.35-37)
ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον (6.14; cf. 7.41)
ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ [2] (6.69)
σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (18.33; cf. 1.49; 18.37, 39; 19.3, 19)
ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου (20.28).

That Jesus is *the Savior of the world* (4.42) is also expressed in I Jn. 4.14, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου. The title σωτήρ was widely current in the Hellenistic world,[3]

[1] *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 292.

[2] This reading is supported by ℵ B D sah, and is to be preferred. Tert has ὁ χριστός (Mk. 8.29) and *b* syr$^{c ur}$ have ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, while most mss either have conflate readings in various forms or reproduce the confession of Peter according to Mt. 16.16.

[3] It is used of both deities and rulers; for the literature on this subject see P. Wendland, "Soter," *ZNW,* 5 (1904), pp. 335 ff.; A. Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East,* pp. 363-365; Bousset, *op. cit.,* pp. 240-246; Taylor, *Names,* pp. 107-109; A. D. Nock, "Soter and Euergetes," in S. E. Johnson, ed., *The Joy of Study; Papers on the New Testament and Related*

although the idea of God as Savior (various forms of ישע) is prominent in the Old Testament.[1] In later Jewish literature the messiah is occasionally described as the one who saves Israel, but more often it is God who is represented as the coming Savior.[2] Applied to Jesus in the Pastoral and Catholic letters of the New Testament[3] and used rather extensively in the later Christian lierature,[4] the title σωτήρ appears but sparingly in the gospels,[5] Acts,[6] and the letters of Paul.[7] This is surprising in view of the etymology of the name *Jesus*[8] and of his redeeming work of salvation, as well as the currency of the concept in the Old Testament.[9] Its precise meaning in the Johannine literature is difficult to determine. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that Greek terminology is being utilized;[10] Dodd suggests that in Jn. 4.42 the Evangelist may deliberately put the word in the mouth of the Samaritans, "who in this gospel represent in some sort the Gentile world over against the Jews."[11] The word also has an eschatological cast, as may be seen in Phil. 3.20, and it is thus related to the Son of Man figure of Jewish apocalypticism.[12] Further, the term conveys the functional aspect of Jesus as the one who saves the world.[13] But predominantly, σωτήρ in both Johannine examples (Jn. 4.42; I Jn. 4.14) is messianic.[14] In the light of what the Samaritan woman

Subjects Presented to Honor Frederick Clifton Grant (New York, 1951), pp. 127-148.

[1] Cf. Isa. 43.3, 11; 45.15, 21; 46.26; 60.16; 63.8; Jer. 14.8; Hos. 13.4. This idea is also expressed in the New Testament: Lk. 1.47; I Tim. 1.1; 2.3; 4.10; Tit. 1.3; 2.10; 3.4.

[2] See Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, vol. 1, pp. 67-70.

[3] II Tim. 1.10; Tit. 1.4; 2.13; 3.6; II Pet. 1.1, 11; 2.18; I Jn. 4.14.

[4] E.g. Ign. *Eph.* 1.1; *Mag.* (Intro.); *Phila.* 9.2; *Smy.* 7.1; *Poly.* (Intro.); Mar. Poly. 19.2; Gos. Pet. 4.13.

[5] Besides Jn. 4.42, only in Lk. 2.11.

[6] 5.31; 13.23.

[7] Phil. 3.20; Eph. 5.23.

[8] Ἰησοῦς is the Greek equivalent of the Heb. יְשׁוּעַ (*Joshua*, "Yahweh is salvation"); see Mt. 1.21.

[9] Taylor (*Names*, p. 109) says, "The explanation which seems most probable is that the use of the name in Greek religion, and above all in Caesar worship, restricted and delayed its currency in the primitive tradition."

[10] The precise phrase, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, was used frequently in the inscriptions for Hadrian (A.D. 117-138); see Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

[11] *Interpretation*, p. 239.

[12] See Bultmann, *Theology*, vol. 1, p. 79.

[13] Cf. I Jn. 4.14 with Jn. 3.16.

[14] Cf. Acts 13.23, "From this man's [David's] seed, God has brought to Israel, according to the promise, a savior, Jesus."

says, οἶδα ὅτι μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός (Jn. 4.25), and μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός; (v. 29), the declaration of her fellow townsmen in 4.42 seems clear: "No longer do we believe because of your words, for we have heard for ourselves and we know ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου," that is, he is the messiah. So also in the epistle the meaning of σωτήρ is closely related to ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: "We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son as savior of the world. Whoever confesses that Jesus is the Son of God," etc. It would seem, therefore, that the representation of Jesus as savior of the world is a further commentary on what is contained in the *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ." [1]

The designation of Jesus as the *Son of Man* [2] probably is not directly related to the *homologia*, for in John the term is used by Jesus of himself (12.34 is only an apparent exception);[3] in this, John agrees with the synoptic gospels. The argument of Bousset,[4] and Bultmann after him,[5] that the title was given to Jesus by the primitive church, is contrary to the evidence not only of the gospels but of the primitive *homologia* and confessions as well. The acclamation or acknowledgment of Jesus as Son of Man was never accorded a place of importance in the primitive church.[6]

The designation of Jesus as *the prophet* who was to come into the world (6.14; 7.40) is an interesting one, particularly in the light of

[1] Bultmann (*Theology*, vol. 2, p. 36) says, "Jesus, accordingly, can be called 'the savior of the world' (4.42; I Jn. 4.14). While in this term he is accorded the specifically Hellenistic title of salvation-bringer, the meaning of his sending is more frequently expressed by the title that comes out of the Jewish and earliest Christian tradition: Messiah . . . ." So too C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John* (London, 1955), p. 204.

[2] For a discussion of the term as used in John, see H. Dieckmann, "Der Sohn des Menschen im Johannes," *Scholastik*, 2 (1927), pp. 229-247; H. Windisch, "Angelophanien um den Menschensohn auf Erden," *ZNW*, 30 (1931), pp. 215-233; R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Göttingen, 1950), pp. 105-109; Dodd, *Interpretation*, pp. 241-249; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

[3] Outside the gospels, the term is used once in Acts (7.56) and twice in Rev. (1.13; 14.14).

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-20.

[5] *Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 26-37.

[6] Cf. Ign. *Eph.* 20.2, ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαυείδ, ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ; Barn. 12.10, ἴδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, υἱὸς οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 324, n. 800) finds that "Son of Man" is not used in the early Christian confessions; there are only tendencies in that direction, as in Acts 7.56; I Tim. 2.5; Eus. *H.E.* 2.23; *Ps. Clem. Rec.* 3.48.

the recently discovered Qumran literature.[1] The title is ascribed to Jesus in the synoptic gospels,[2] but without apparent messianic significance; Jesus as a prophet is a popular notion concerning his person and activity. In Acts,[3] however, the title is taken messianically as the fulfillment of Deut. 18.15, 19, as it seems to be understood in the Manual of Discipline.[4] In John the usage is ambiguous, for in 7.40 the title is suggested by the crowd as an alternative to ὁ χριστός (v. 41),[5] while in 6.14 the messianic meaning seems to be intended, for the recognition of Jesus as "the prophet who is to come into the world" leads to the attempt to make him king by force.[6] In view of these data, as well as the manner in which Jesus is described as a prophet in 7.40, it appears that an expectation of a coming messianic prophet was current in certain circles, among the followers of John the Baptist, and that the Evangelist is concerned to correct any mistaken notions by relating fully the true significance of Jesus who came as the fulfillment of the messianic hope. In itself, however, the title is not to be taken as part of the primitive Christian *homologia*.[7]

The designation of Jesus as *the Holy One of God* (6.69) is given in the confession of Peter. This is to be taken as a messianic title comparable to, and practically synonymous with, ὁ χριστός and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, because of its inherent meaning and because of the parallels found in the synoptic gospels.[8] The title is almost without

[1] E.g. 1QS 9.11, "until the coming of the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel"; cf. Deut. 18.18. See F. M. Braun, "L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la communauté de l'alliance," *Rev Bib*, 62 (1955), pp. 5-44; R. E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *Cath Bib Q*, 17 (1955), pp. 403-419; 559-574; K. G. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels," *NTS*, 1 (1954), pp. 168-179; the latter two articles are reproduced in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York, 1957).

[2] E.g. Mt. 21.11; Mk. 6.15a; 8.28.

[3] 3.22 f.; 7.37.

[4] It was formerly held that the messianic interpretation of Deut. 18.15 ff. was limited to Samaritans and Christians (see Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 1, pp. 404-408). Cf. I Mac. 4.46; 14.41; II Mac. 15.15; IV Ezr. 2.18.

[5] Cf. the Baptist's repudiation of both the χριστός and προφήτης titles (1.20, 21).

[6] Dodd (*Interpretation*, p. 239) calls this "quasi-messianic."

[7] Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 324, n. 801) observes that the word *prophet* is not used in the early Christian confessions.

[8] Mk. 8.29, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός; Mt. 16.16, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος; Lk. 9.20, τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

precedent in the Old Testament [1] and is used of Jesus only sparingly in the New Testament. [2] Though the title never attained general currency in the early church, here it seems clearly to indicate the Holy One promised by God, namely his Son, the Messiah.[3]

The Lamb of God (1.36), or, more fully, the Lamb of God "who takes away the sin of the world" (1.29), is a designation applied to Jesus by John the Baptist. Elsewhere in the New Testament ἀμνός is used only twice of Jesus Christ,[4] although ἀρνίον is used frequently in the book of Revelation.[5] While the expression in Jn. 1.36 doubtless is susceptible of other interpretations,[6] the context supports the conclusion that it is a messianic title,[7] for the announcement of the Baptist, "Behold, the Lamb of God," is heard by Andrew, who in turn tells his brother Simon, "We have found the messiah (τὸν μεσσίαν)" (1.41).

The title of Jesus as *the King of Israel* (1.49; cf. 12.13; 18.33; *et al.*) certainly reflects a very early tradition in which the messiah was expected to be a royal deliverer, a king. The title is used only in mockery in the synoptic gospels,[8] but the manner in which it is introduced in John suggests that it reflects current Jewish thought,

[1] Ps. 105 (106).16, of Aaron; II Kings 4.9, of Elisha.

[2] Mk. 1.24 // Lk. 4.34; Lk. 1.35; Acts 4.27, 30; 3.14; Rev. 3.7; I Jn. 2.20 may refer to either Jesus or God. Bultmann (*Johannes*, p. 344, n. 5) says that as a messianic title (*Messiastitel*) ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ is found only in Jn. 6.69 and Mk. 1.24 // Lk. 4.34.

[3] So W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (3 ed. Tübingen, 1933), p. 105; Bultmann, p. 344; Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Dodd, *Interpretation*, p. 228.

[4] Acts 8.32 (Isa. 53.7); I Pet. 1.18, 19; both reflect the idea of a suffering Christ.

[5] Twenty-eight times according to Taylor, *Names*, p. 116. The apocalyptic figure of the lamb (cf. Enoch 89 ff.) is predominantly revealed here (e.g. 6.16; 17.14), although the sacrificial coloring is also present (e.g. 5.6, 12; 7.14). R. H. Charles (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* [Edinburgh, 1920], vol. 1, p. cxiii) says, "The Lamb is at once the triumphant Messiah, leading His people to victory, and the suffering Messiah who lays down His life for His people."

[6] For discussions of the concept see E. C. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* (London, 1940), p. 176, who understands the term as referring to both the Passover Lamb and to Isa. 53, and C. K. Barrett, *JTS*, 48 (1947), pp. 155 ff., *John*, pp. 146 f., who favors a Paschal interpretation, although acknowledging that the concept also contains several Old Testament strands; cf. Bultmann, *Johannes*, pp. 66, 67; Dodd, *Interpretation*, pp. 233-238.

[7] Dodd, (*Interpretation*, p. 238) concludes that "the expression, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, in its first intention, is probably a messianic title, virtually equivalent to ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, taken over by the evangelist from a tradition which also underlies the Apocalypse of John."

[8] Mk. 15.2, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32, and parallels; but see Mt. 2.2.

for both Nathanael in 1.49 and the crowds at the entry into Jerusalem (12.13) acclaim Jesus as the King of Israel. The Evangelist accepts the title as messianic, but in his usual manner fills it with new and Christian meaning.[1] It is all but certain that the acclamation of Jesus as the King of Israel is synonymous with the acclamation of him as the Christ.

This survey of the titles and/or names which are found in the formulas of the gospel of John and which are bestowed on Jesus shows that all are related to the messianic terminology of primitive Christianity, although not all were messianic in pre-Christian thought (for example, ὁ ἅγιος or ὁ σωτήρ). For the most part, John introduces these current and popular conceptions at the opening of his gospel. He is concerned to make certain that his readers appreciate just what such titles and names mean when applied to Jesus of Nazareth. We see this concern also in his dealing with other issues which, on the one hand, relate to the messianic hope and, on the other, to the actual coming of Jesus. To clarify the manner in which Jesus was truly the messiah he introduces such issues as the descent of Jesus from David (7.42), the "scandal" of his earthly life (1.45, 46; 6.42; 7.27, 41, 42, 52), and prophecies of the Old Testament (1.45; 5.39-47; 7.42). John's intention therefore is to show the real significance of the messianic titles when revealed in the light of the coming of Jesus, and to show that this significance is grounded in Jesus of Nazareth, the historical person who lived, who suffered death, and who was raised from the dead. In short, the Christological titles are commentaries on the basic Christian *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.

Special attention must be directed to the most outstanding single confession in the gospel of John, one which apparently is unrelated to the Johannine *homologia*. Thomas's confession, ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου (20.29), is particularly remarkable because John in both his gospel and letters shows a decided aversion to using κύριος. In view of the prominence of the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς in the Pauline literature, an attempt must be made to account for its omission or neglect in the Johannine gospel and letters.

The word κύριος occurs nowhere in the letters of John; in the

[1] Dodd (*Interpretation*, p. 229) notes a polemical interest, where the Evangelist corrects the current Jewish interpretations of the title. Those who want make Jesus a king following the feeding of the five thousand are as mistaken as Pilate who thinks that Jesus' kingdom is of this world.

gospel it appears significantly and overwhelmingly in the resurrection and post-resurrection narratives.[1] Prior to the resurrection the word is found only in the familiar form of address [2] and a few times where its presence is apparently a gloss.[3] As has been noted before (see above, pp. 54 ff.), the designation of the risen Lord as ὁ κύριος is in keeping with a very early tradition; the title κύριος belongs to Jesus after the resurrection. Its absence from the bulk of the gospel of John is therefore quite in harmony with the pattern of its appearance in the synoptic gospels. The problem regarding the Johannine letters, however, remains, for here the term is not used at all.

The prevalence of the *kyrios*-title in Jewish and Hellenistic literature has been considered above in relation to the Pauline formula (Chapter IV, sec. B). It is appropriate to note in addition that the combination of κύριος and θεός is also found in non-Christian literature. The combination, as one would expect, occurs frequently in the Septuagint,[4] usually for the Hebrew יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים. Thus these words are terms which would be familiar to Jews and Jewish-Christians. But the two titles in combination are also found in Hellenistic religious vocabulary, where they are applied to deities [5] and emperors.[6] While θεός is used of Jesus Christ elsewhere in John [7] as well as in other Christian literature,[8] in combination with κύριος it is found only in the later Christian literature.[9]

As one might expect in the gospel of John, several streams apparently converge in the acclamation of the risen Christ as Lord

[1] Jn. 20.2, 13, 18, 20, 25, 28; 21.7 (twice), 12.

[2] E.g. 11.3, 27; 9.36; 13.13.

[3] 4.1; 6.23; 11.2; II Jn. 3; so J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* (New York, 1929), vol. 2, pp. 132, 189, 372; Hoskyns, *op. cit.*, pp. 252, 328; Taylor, *Names*, p. 43.

[4] E.g. II Sam. 7.28; I Kings 18.39; Jer. 38.18; Zech. 13.9; Ps. 29.3; 34.23; 85.15; 87.2.

[5] Cf. τῷ θεῷ καὶ κυρίῳ Σοκνοπαίῳ (OGIS 655, 24 B.C.) and τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ (P. Tebt. 284.6).

[6] Cf. *dominus et deus noster* (Suet. *Dom.* 13). See other references in Deissmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 361 ff.

[7] Jn. 1.1; 1.18 (*v.l.*); cf. 5.18; 10.33. I Jn. 5.20 may be taken as referring to Jesus Christ.

[8] E.g. Tit. 2.13; in Rom. 9.5 the term may refer to either God or Christ, depending upon how the sentence is punctuated. This usage is found most frequently in the letters of Ignatius, e.g. *Tral.* 7.1; *Smy.* 10.1; *Eph.* 15.3; *Poly.* 8.3; cf. Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96.7), *carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere.*

[9] Cf. Act. Thom. 26, κύριος καὶ θεὸς πάντων Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; Eus. *H.E.* 5.28.11, θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

and God. Thomas (or the Evangelist) employs terms which have meanings and associations for both the Jewish- and Hellenistic-Christians.[1] The confession clearly forms the climax of the gospel, and significantly the identification of ὁ λόγος with θεός in 1.1 is recapitulated by the designation of the risen Jesus as κύριος and θεός.[2] F. C. Burkitt caught the right emphasis in his paraphrase of Thomas's confession, "It *is* Jesus himself and I now recognize him as Divine." [3] The One who had been teacher and had suffered physical death, who had the nail marks in his hands and the wound in his side, is the same as the risen Lord appearing to Thomas; he is both Lord and God.

But this does not answer the problem of why the κύριος-title is unexpressed in the Johannine *homologia*, and perhaps a completely satisfactory solution is not possible. Bousset [4] suggested that the absence of κύριος from both the gospel and letters is due to John's understanding that the disciples are friends of Jesus (Jn. 15.14 f.; 16.27; III Jn. 15), and not his servants (δοῦλοι), as might be suggested by κύριος.[5] F. C. Grant [6] thinks that the omission is due to the distinction the author wishes to make between Christ and the "many lords and many gods" (I Cor. 8.5) of contemporaneous Hellenistic religious society; Christ is far above these "empty figures." Bultmann [7] poses the question,

> Was the title avoided, or at least repressed, because John took so reserved an attitude toward the whole realm of the cultic and the sacramental, and because this title was not adapted to expressing just that which was the essential thing to John: Jesus as an eschatological figure?

By way of comment on Bultmann's question, it is to be observed that the κύριος-title carries a greater degree of cultic connotation than does χριστός, as is well demonstrated in Paul's use of the term;[8] significantly, therefore, the title is found in Thomas's

[1] Hoskyns, *op. cit.*, p. 549, says, "Thomas honours the Son in the same terms with which the Jews were accustomed to honour the Father." So also Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[2] See Bultmann, *Johannes*, p. 539.

[3] *Christian Beginnings* (London, 1924), p. 48; the italics are his

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

[5] Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 48, agrees.

[6] *The Growth of the Gospels* (New York, 1933), p. 207.

[7] *Theology*, vol. 2, p. 36.

[8] See Taylor, *Names*, pp. 45-47.

confession of faith, which may also be understood as his acclamation of worship.[1] In the letters of John the cultic interest is not uppermost; but whenever the *homologia* is expressed it carries certain polemical overtones in the face of false teachers. Likewise in the gospel one finds a similar polemical interest aimed in open fashion against Judaism, in which the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς would have little meaning if utilized in this setting, but where Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός would, and does, have important implications for Judaism. In short, Paul was writing to a predominantly Hellenistic audience for which κύριος would have significant and far-reaching meaning, while John was addressing a basically Jewish or quasi-Jewish reading public for which χριστός, properly understood, would have a unique and crucial significance.

B. THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the meaning of the *homologia* in the gospel and letters of John, it is necessary to ascertain the historical situation underlying this group of writings. Since the letters deal directly with problems in the church and thus more clearly reflect the *Sitz im Leben,* they will be used as the primary basis for ascertaining the historical setting.

From I John one learns that a schism[2] had occurred in the churches which he addresses, and that certain persons had left the Christian fellowship: "they went out from us, but they were not of us (ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν), for if they were of us they would have remained with us" (2.19). They apparently were "spirituals," prophets who spoke by inspiration, but they were false prophets whose πνεῦμα was not from God (4.1, 2). These men were attempting to lead the believers astray (2.27); they seem to have had a great following, and the world was listening to their message (4.5; cf. II Jn. 7). To John they were nothing other than antichrists (I Jn. 2.18, 22).

The teaching propounded by the false teachers was twofold: it was "antinomian" (to apply a term current at a later period) in that the importance of ethical Christian living was neglected if not denied, and it did not acknowledge the Incarnation. While both

[1] Barrett (*op. cit.*, p. 477) suggests that the whole passage (20.19-29) may be liturgical in origin.

[2] Dodd (*The Johannine Epistles*, p. xix) calls it a "secession"; Wilder (*IB*, vol. 12, p. 210) thinks of it as a "cleavage."

aspects are important for understanding the historical setting, the latter is more directly related to the *homologia*.[1]

While II and III John are both so brief as to make detailed historical reconstructions difficult, it appears that II John at least reflects a situation similar to that in I John. Here also there is mention of deceivers who had gone out into the world, who do not acknowledge Jesus as Christ come in the flesh; these too are called antichrists (v. 7). The readers are to abide in the doctrine of Christ (μένειν ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, v. 9) and to exclude from fellowship those who do not bear this teaching (v. 10). The *Sitz im Leben* of III John is less certain.[2] In this letter John addresses a certain Gaius who has faithfully received missioners sent by the elder into his area (v. 5). But he warns him about Diotrophes, a man of position who disregards John's authority and speaks evil words against him (vv. 9, 10), and who not only refuses hospitality to John's emissaries, but also prevents others from offering hospitality upon penalty of excommunication (ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει, v. 10). Thus, while the same situations may be reflected in all three letters, there is very little internal evidence, except the note of mutual exclusion, which clarifies the relationship between III John and the other two.

It has always been a problem how the defection reflected in the letters of John is to be related to the later heresies of the church. The error is generally considered to be some form of gnosticism,[3] usually of docetic or Cerinthian coloring,[4] although some have suggested the strong influence of typically Jewish elements.[5] The

[1] It is true, of course, that the *homologia* involved more than intellectual or credal assent and included ethical living as well. To agree to the confession meant to live consistently with its basic implications. Tit. 1.16, for example, reprobates those who profess to know God (θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι) but who deny him by their deeds.

[2] Wilder (*IB*, vol. 12, pp. 209-210) states that all three express the same situation, while Dodd (*The Johannine Epistles*, pp. lvii ff.) believes that II and III Jn. are different from I Jn. in historical background.

[3] Dodd (*ibid.*, p. xx), for example, says, "On the whole, then, there is good ground for concluding that the errors with which this epistle is concerned are associated with that tendency in the religious life of the time which is known as 'Hellenistic mysticism,' or 'higher paganism,' especially in its near-Christian dress, as 'Gnosticism.' "

[4] B. F. Westcott (*The Epistles of St. John* [4th ed., London, 1902], p. xxxiv) states, "The false teaching with which he deals is Docetic and specifically Cerinthian."

[5] A. Wurm, *Die Irrlehrer im ersten Johannes Brief* (Freiberg, 1903); see A. E. Brooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles* (New York, 1912), pp. xl ff.

problem is made more difficult by the circumstance that the sources for our information about the early heresies frequently come through the writings of the later fathers, as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius, and are therefore both polemical in intention and far removed from the first century.[1] Even so, there is sufficient evidence in the early Christian writings, including the fathers, to assist in attaining a certain understanding of the background of the Johannine setting.

The letters of Ignatius of Antioch in Syria tell of a heresy in Asia Minor which may properly be called "docetic." He writes of those unbelievers who say that Jesus only seemed to suffer (τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, *Tral.* 10.1), being a phantom who walked upon earth and who was crucified in this form.[2] They blaspheme the Lord and do not confess him as clothed in the flesh (μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον, *Smy.* 5.2). To counter this teaching, Ignatius emphasized the humanity of Jesus Christ, his human birth and life in the flesh (*Tral.* 9.1), his real suffering (*Smy.* 2), and his resurrection in the flesh (*Smy.* 3). In short, Ignatius is keenly concerned to demonstrate that Jesus Christ is both God and man.[3]

While certain similarities exist between the Ignatian and the Johannine teaching, there appear to be greater differences. The false teaching to which Ignatius refers is that Jesus Christ had merely an "apparent" body, that he was only a spirit (δαιμόνιον), and hence his sufferings were not real and his resurrection was only phantasmal. It is probably safe to assume that these heretics could have acknowledged the Johannine *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός,[4] but without acknowledging that he had been a real human being. The supplementary confession found in the letters of John, "Jesus is Christ come in the flesh," however, would respond directly to the Ignatian problem.[5] While both are concerned with

[1] The scholarly world awaits with eagerness the publication and analysis of the entire gnostic library found at Nag Hammadi.

[2] R. Law (*The Tests of Life* [Edinburgh, 1909], p. 92) calls it a "prolonged theophany."

[3] *Eph.* 7.2: "There is one Physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born yet unborn, God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God, first suffering (παθητός) and then not suffering (ἀπαθής), Jesus Christ our Lord."

[4] So Law, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[5] R. Schnackenberg (*Die Johannesbriefe* [Freiberg, 1953], pp. 18-19) points out, however, that even here there is a difference between John and Ignatius, for John is primarily concerned with the Incarnation and not with docetic teaching.

the relationship between the human and the divine, John is primarily interested in the identification of Christ, the Son of God, with the historical Jesus, and Ignatius with the genuineness of the humanity, the suffering, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. If there is a relationship between the false teachings against which John and Ignatius stand opposed, as there well may be, the Ignatian heresy probably represents a more developed and crude form of docetism which is reflected only in an incipient stage in the letters of John.

From the writings of Irenaeus we hear of a certain Cerinthus, a contemporary of John, who was living and laboring in Ephesus. In view of the story about John's meeting Cerinthus in the baths of Hierapolis,[1] it has been concluded by many commentators that the letters of John were directed against the teaching of Cerinthus. According to Irenaeus Cerinthus taught that there was a Higher and a Lower Deity, the latter having created the world. Jesus was born of purely natural generation of Joseph and Mary, although he was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men. At Jesus' baptism Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove from the Supreme Power, and thereafter he proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles. At the end of his public ministry Christ departed from Jesus, and then Jesus suffered and rose again; but Christ remained without suffering, since he was spiritual.[2]

There are obvious relationships between this description of Cerinthus' belief and the teaching of John's opponents as expressed and implied in the Johannine letters. The *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," as well as the descriptive addition, "Christ come in the flesh," would apply equally well to the errorists in the Johannine letters and to Cerinthus's idea of the separation of Jesus from Christ. Further, the statement in I Jn. 5.6, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι, may be taken as a direct correction of the Cerinthian type of teaching, which allowed the coming of Christ at baptism (ὕδωρ) but not his suffering death (αἷμα).[3]

It has also been observed that the letters of John were written at a time when Christianity was making contact with the developing

[1] Related by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 3.3.4) on the authority of Polycarp.
[2] *Adv. Haer.* 1.26.1.
[3] See Brooke, *op. cit.*, pp. xlv-xlix.

gnosticism of the Hellenistic world.[1] The defection that is described in the first letter, when compared with what is known of the later gnostics, marks the earlier beginnings of the later heresies. The opponents of John denied the reality of the Incarnation; it was scandalous for them to think that the Son of God could be degraded by having contact with evil matter or by suffering in the world. Further, they neglected Christian morality; "Some of the heretics believed themselves to be so far above good and evil that their conduct scandalized even the easy-going censors of Roman society."[2] One should note also, so it is argued, the emphasis upon *gnosis* as the means to salvation and deification, which is reflected by phrases which John evidently quotes from his opponents: "we are born of God," "we are in the light," "we dwell in God," "we know God," etc.

While the proponents of this view are able to find many parallels between I Jn. and gnostic thought, much of their argument is weakened by the fact that the sources for a study of gnosticism are generally late in composition and are written from a polemical point of view. In all of the foregoing suggestions—Docetism, Cerinthianism, Gnosticism—it is apparent that certain similarities do exist between them and the heresy combatted in the letters of John, but at the same time one observes certain differences. It would be an over-simplification to identify any one of the above mentioned heresies with that reflected in the Johannine letters without first considering other elements expressed in this literature.

There is the further problem of a Jewish defection of one sort or another. The several kinds of Jewish-Christians mentioned in the New Testament—the syncretistic group which Paul dealt with in Colossae;[3] those who continued to observe the Jewish law, which probably included most Christians who were converted from Judaism; and those who insisted that all Christians should be compelled to keep the law—no doubt continued to exist for some time parallel with the development of the church. The dialogue of Justin with Trypho the Jew is enlightening at this point, for it shows that in the mid-second century the conflict still existed. Justin tells Trypho of two kinds of Jewish-Christians, those who

[1] So Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles*, pp. xvi-xxi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xx.

[3] See the classic essay by J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Rev. ed., London, 1889), pp. 73-113.

recognize that Jesus is the Christ and who still observe the Jewish law, and those who in addition compel others to keep the law.[1]

From several of the church fathers, beginning with Irenaeus, one also learns of the Jewish-Christian sect of the Ebionites, who originally must have arisen from the Jerusalem church.[2] In addition to their observation of the Jewish law, because of which they rejected the teaching of Paul,[3] their Christology is of great interest. In this, Irenaeus says, their belief was similar to that of Cerinthus and Carpocrates.[4] They regarded Jesus as a mere man [5] and nothing more than a descendent of David;[6] he was not the Son of God [7] and was not born of the virgin Mary.[8] They also apparently held that at his baptism the Holy Spirit (or Christ) descended upon him,[9] and their Christology was, therefore, "adoptionist."

Besides the existence of these Jewish-Christian groups at the time of the composition of the Johannine literature, there was the controversy between the Synagogue and the Church so vividly reflected in the book of Acts. The fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 must have had a profound effect upon the relations between Judaism and Christianity, not only intensifying the hostility between them, but also placing in a difficult position those Jewish-Christians who held strongly to the traditions of the fathers and to whom the temple and Jerusalem formed an important facet of their faith. The setting is reflected in the dialogue of Justin with Trypho, referred to above. In this document (*Trypho* 47) Justin speaks of Christians who had confessed and known Jesus to be the Christ,[10] but who later returned to the legal dispensation and denied Christ.[11] Even more signifi-

[1] *Trypho* 47.

[2] See H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen, 1949), pp. 256 ff.

[3] Orig. *Cel.* 5.61.

[4] *Adv. Haer.* 1.26.2.

[5] Justin (*Trypho* 48) refers to certain Jewish-Christians when he says, "there are some of our (your, *v.l.*) race who confess him to be Christ but only as born of men (ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων)."

[6] Tert. *Carne* 14.

[7] Tert. *Haer.* 33, *At in epistola* [*i.e.* I John] *eos maxime antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesus esse Filium Dei: illud Marcion, hoc Hebion vindicavit.*

[8] Tert. *Virg.* 6.

[9] Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.26.1, 2; cf. Hip. *Phil.* 7.34; 9.13-17; Epiph. *Haer.* 30.1.

[10] Ὁμολογήσαντας καὶ ἐπιγνόντας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν χριστόν.

[11] Ἀρνησαμένους ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.

cantly, Justin refers to Jews who have anathematized Christ and who continue to anathematize him in their synagogues.[1]

References such as the foregoing indicate that a defection of Jewish character may well have been the occasion for the Johannine correspondence. The *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, speaks most directly to Jewish opponents.[2] In this respect the evidence of the gospel supports the view that a Jewish-Christian controversy underlies the conflict expressed in the Johannine letters. The confession of Jesus as the Messiah is forbidden on pain of excommunication (Jn. 9.22; 12.42). The anathema to which Justin refers is reflected in the variant reading at I Jn. 4.3, ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν.[3] To anathematize Jesus, as well as to deny that he is the Christ (I Jn. 2.22), stands in direct opposition to the *homologia*, and thus reflects the opposition of the synagogue.

On the other hand, Jewish influence upon the opponents of John may have been exerted indirectly, from Oriental-Hellenism itself.[4] Judaism of the Diaspora was, or tended to be, syncretistic. The Colossian heresy illustrates to what extent this fusion of Jewish, Oriental, Hellenistic, and Christian thought could develop into a gnostic, mystical, and ascetic system. Judaism was either adopted as another facet into the Hellenistic pantheon or it adopted elements from paganism into its own faith, as may be seen in the writings of Philo. Cerinthus was himself a Jew, and the parallels between

[1] Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καταναθεματίσαντας καὶ καταναθεματίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν Χριστόν.

[2] So A. Wurm, *op. cit.*; Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. xli. On I Jn. 2.22, H. Windisch (*Die katholischen Briefe* [3rd ed., Tübingen, 1951], p. 118) says that the false teaching is simply the denial of the messiahship of Jesus, and thus the sin of unbelieving Jews, although he acknowledges that it may also indicate a Christology in which the persons of Jesus and Christ were sharply differentiated.

[3] This variant reading, where λύει means *exorcise* or *anathematize*, is accepted by Piper (*JBL*, 66 [1947], pp. 440-444), Wilder, (*IB*, vol. 12, p. 276), and Schnackenburg (*op. cit.*, p. 198); it is found in 1739^{mg} lat (*solvit*) Iren Clem Alex Orig (see p. 101 below).

[4] L. Duchesne (*The Early History of the Christian Church* [New York, 1909], p. 61), in speaking of Asia Minor in the early second century, observes, "Heresy, in these remote days, always springs from a Jewish or Mosaic root. The false teachers are always teachers of the Law, advocating the Sabbath, circumcision, and other rites . . . . They were, in fact, Judaizing gnostics, who in the primitive churches heralded the inroads of philosophic Gnosticism." More recently Erwin R. Goodenough has drawn attention to the ramifications of pagan influence upon Judaism; see his *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, particularly vol. 2, *The Archeological Evidence from the Diaspora* (New York, 1953).

his thought and that of the later Ebionites is significant. Those who argue that Cerinthus is the target of John's polemic must consider the question of Jewish influence. It was congenial not only for the Greek mentality to think of Christ apart from human form but also for the Jewish,[1] and when one speaks of gnostic, Cerinthian, or docetic thought, it must be remembered that these contained in various degrees elements of Jewish thought.

It is evident, therefore, that one cannot ascribe any one sect, religion, or movement to the opponents of John as reflected in his gospel or letters. That the heresy has been called Cerinthian,[2] docetic,[3] gnostic,[4] "gnostic-spiritual," [5] or Jewish,[6] illustrates the diversity of opinion, as it does also the complexity of the problem and the impossibility of an unqualified answer. It is precisely at this point that the real genius of the Johannine *homologia* comes to the fore, because it confronts equally appropriately the several influences assaulting the apostolic faith.[7]

C. THE MEANING OF THE JOHANNINE *HOMOLOGIA*

The *homologia* in the Johannine literature, as has been shown in the preceding discussion, appears in three forms, "Jesus is the Christ," [8] "Jesus is the Son of God," [9] or, where both forms are expressed together, "Jesus is the Christ the Son of God." [10] It will now be necessary to examine the separate titles and/or names used

[1] A. Schlatter (*The Church in the New Testament Period* [London, 1955], p. 296) says, "To think of Christ without the 'flesh' was attractive not only to the Greek but also to the Jewish mind. Jewish angelology in particular easily led to such a notion. Angels appear in human form, looking exactly as men, yet they have no flesh and never become men. Was it not more dignified to have a Christ who, even in his earthly manifestation, had retained his heavenly nature unimpaired, than one who was made subject to bodily and natural needs, who had to eat, sleep, suffer, and die, and whose mental and spiritual life was limited accordingly?"

[2] Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv.

[3] R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed., London, 1941), pp. 44, 45.

[4] Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. xx; Schnackenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.

[5] F. Büchsel, *Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus* (Gütersloh, 1928), pp. 4 f.

[6] Wurm, *op. cit.*

[7] As Wilder (*IB*, vol. 12, p. 247) observes, "There were various theories about the Christ or the Son of God in his relationship to Jesus, and the elder no doubt repudiates more than one kind as he appeals to the early Christian confessions of faith."

[8] Jn. 1.20; 3.28; 7.26, 41; 9.22; 10.24; I Jn. 2.22; 5.1.

[9] Jn. 1.34, 49; 6.69; 10.36; I Jn. 4.15; 5.5.

[10] Jn. 11.29; 20.31.

in the formulas. Such an inquiry will help one to understand what the formulas mean and to determine whether they are different in meaning and intention, or whether they are merely different expressions of the same basic *homologia*.

It is profitable first to consider the emphasis given to the historical Jesus.[1] In the discussion relating to the forms of the Johannine *homologia* (Sec. A), it was suggested that emphasis properly belongs not only upon the predicates in the formula but also upon the subject as well, that is, upon *Jesus*. It is a significant fact that *Jesus* is always the subject of the *homologia*. *Jesus* is the Christ, the Son of God.

That a reference to the earthly Jesus has importance in the Johannine *homologia* is demonstrated by the phrases which are added in the letters: "Jesus is Christ come in the flesh" (I Jn. 4.2; II Jn. 7); "Jesus the Christ is he who came by water and by blood" (I Jn. 5.6). The Christ who is believed on in the church or awaited for in the synagogue was incarnate in Jesus, the one who lived, performed signs, suffered, and died. As the gospel expresses it, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (1.14).

There is further the emphasis in the Johannine literature upon witnessing and testifying to the facts of history. John the Baptist gave testimony of the descent of the Spirit (Jn. 1.32), saying, κἀγὼ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (1.34).[2] The Evangelist refers to his own testimony regarding the piercing of Jesus' side (19.35). The opening statements of I John emphasize, by a series of significant verbs, the writer's testimony to and proclamation of the historical event of the Incarnation: ἀκηκόαμεν, ἑωράκαμεν, ἐθεασάμεθα, ἐψηλάφησαν (1.1); ἑωράκαμεν, μαρτυροῦμεν, ἀπαγγέλομεν (1.2); ἑωράκαμεν, ἀκηκόαμεν, ἀπαγγέλομεν (1.3). In short, John is concerned, in both the gospel and the letters, to present the testimony of eyewitnesses in order to guarantee the

[1] By the term "historical Jesus" is meant the Jesus who lived and died in Palestine during the first third of the first century A.D. There is no need here to explore the argument about the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" or the difference between *historisch* and *geschichtlich*. See M. Kähler, *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus* (1892; 2nd ed. reprint, Munich, 1953), R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (1929; Eng. tr., New York, 1934), R. H. Strachan, *The Historic Jesus in the New Testament* (London, 1937), P. Althaus, *Das so-genannte Kerygma und der historische Jesus* (Gütersloh, 1958), and James M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London, 1959).

[2] See also Jn. 1.15, 19; 3.26, 28; 5.33.

reality of Christ's coming in the flesh in the person of Jesus.

The Johannine *homologia* therefore draws attention to the Incarnation of the Christ, the Logos, his coming in human flesh; it is this truth which John emphasizes in his writings. Jesus is the bread which came down from heaven, yet a bread which is repeatedly designated σάρξ (6.51 ff.). He is called Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph (1.45; 6.42; cf. 18.5, 7; 19.19), thus drawing attention to his human relationships. The physical and human aspects of Jesus' life and death are described and at times deliberately emphasized: he becomes tired, hungry, and thirsty (4.6-8); he weeps by Lazarus's tomb (11.35); his sufferings on the cross are real, as is seen in the words, "I thirst" (19.28); the dead body is a real corpse, and from the spear-thrust blood and water flow (19.31-33); even after the resurrection specific mention is made of the prints of the nails and the spear-thrust (20.25, 27). In relating such historical facts, John, of course, is interested also in deeper, symbolical meanings, and as a result there is in his account an intimate combination of allusions to the human and to the divine. But the fact remains that a primary aim of the writer is to relate the faith of the church regarding Christ to the Jesus who lived, suffered, and died in the course of history. In other words, the subject *Jesus* in the several formulas has an important function in the Johannine *homologia*.

In view both of the prominent position of ὁ χριστός in the Johannine *homologia* and the utilization of other messianic titles in formulary statements (above, sec. A), it is necessary to ascertain precisely what is meant by the affirmation, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.

The word χριστός must be understood exclusively in its Hebraic background, for in profane Greek it is used only rarely, and then medically of a remedy which was rubbed on the body of a patient or an athlete. In all likelihood the word had little meaning to any Greek audience apart from its Jewish background; this is seen by the circumstance that the title as applied to Jesus soon became a proper name (in Paul, for example) or was occasionally changed later to the more intelligible χρηστός.[1]

The word χριστός is properly an adjective, which is used in the

[1] E.g. Suet. *Claud.* 25; cf. "Chrestos und die 'Christen,'" in L. R. Stachowiak, *Chrestotes, ihre biblische-theologische Entwicklung und Eigenart* (Freiburg, 1957), pp. 121 f.

Septuagint to translate מָשִׁיחַ (Aram. מְשִׁיחָא), meaning *anointed* or, when used as an appelative, the *anointed one*.[1] The idea of anointing is found frequently in the Old Testament of certain individuals who were appointed, designated, or consecrated for specific tasks and who were thus literally or figuratively "anointed" by God for his service. This included kings,[2] priests,[3] the patriarchs,[4] the Jewish nation,[5] and even the Persian king Cyrus.[6] But scholars for some time have noted that, while the term thus exists in the Old Testament, it nowhere is used in the absolute way of the coming Messiah in the manner so familiar to Christian conversation.[7] Even in the Jewish literature of the two centuries preceding the Christian era the term "anointed" is used but rarely and in a variety of applications.[8] The term was used in the fuller form, "the anointed of the Lord" [9] or "my [his] anointed," [10] but the abbreviated form, "the anointed," does not appear before the first Christian century.[11] The name *messiah* does not become common in rabbinic literature until after the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.[12] "It is notoriously difficult to produce satisfactory evidence of

[1] See G. F. Moore's discussion in Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 346-347, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 289 ff.

[2] I Sam. 2.35; 9.16; 10.1; 16.12; I Kings 2.26 f., 35; Hos. 7.3; 8.10.

[3] Ex. 29.1 ff.; Lev. 8.12; 4.3, 5, 16.

[4] Ps. 105.14 f.

[5] I Sam. 2.10; Ps. 28.8; 84.10; 89.39, 52.

[6] Isa. 45.1.

[7] Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 289) says, "If the anointed of the Lord, mentioned in Ps. 2.2, be taken as a personification of Israel, there is then no Old Testament passage in which the coming Prince of Salvation was called in a historical sense 'The Anointed.' "

[8] E.g. in the Qumran literature; cf. "the coming of the messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9.11); see K. G. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aaron und Israels," *NTS*, 1 (1954), pp. 168-179.

[9] Ps. Sol. 17.36; here Χριστὸς Κύριος no doubt represents מְשִׁיחַ יהוה, i.e., Χριστὸς Κυρίου; see Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 354, and Dodd, *Interpretation*, p. 87.

[10] Bar. 39.7; 40.1; 72.21; cf. 18.6, 8.

[11] II Esdr. 7.28, "my son the Messiah" (syr arab 1); "my Messiah" (aeth); "the Messiah" (arab 2); "the Messiah of God" (arm); "my son Jesus" (lat); v. 29, "And after these years my son the Messiah shall die . . . ." Cf. 12.32. The change from the longer forms to the simple *anointed* is attributed by Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 291) to the growing reluctance to name God; I. Abrahams ("The Personal Use of the Term 'Messiah,' " *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* [Cambridge, 1917], ser. I, pp. 136 ff.) thinks that it is due to the tendency in Hebrew to omit the second member of a compound title.

[12] For examples, see Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-294; Moore in Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 360.

the absolute use of the term מָשִׁיחַ in pre-Christian Judaism." [1]

Though it seems to be clearly established that the title *messiah* was not used in an absolute way of a personal deliverer, there was an intense "messianic" hope during the first Christian century and before. Dalman rightly pointed out that it was the general conception of a coming champion which gave meaning and significance to the term *anointed*.[2] The hope for a coming king of the Davidic dynasty, for example, had long been current among the Jews,[3] and it is reflected in the Jewish and Christian literature of the first century A.D.[4] But there was also an expectation, cherished among some Jews during and following the Maccabaean period, for a priestly deliverer rather than a Davidic one.[5] In still other circles, particularly in Jewish apocalypticism, there was a longing for the coming of a supernatural, heavenly deliverer.[6] Thus, the term *messiah,* when used in the first Christian century of the expected deliverer, might convey any of the above mentioned popular beliefs; it did not in itself convey any specific meaning, except that the one so designated was a special appointee of God, consecrated for some specific task. Therefore, the precise meaning of the title, when applied to Jesus by Christian writers, "must be sought from the context in which the word is used rather than from its established significance." [7]

John is aware that to many Jews the title *messiah* is a royal title,[8] that the Messiah according to some had already come into the world, though yet concealed,[9] that he possessed miraculous powers,[10] that he was born of the seed of David,[11] and that he would abide forever.[12] But though acquainted with current Jewish beliefs, the Evangelist introduces them not in order to concur with them, but

[1] Dodd, *Interpretation*, p. 87.

[2] *Op cit.*, p. 294; cf. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 291 ff.

[3] Isa. 11.1; Jer. 23.5; 33.15; Ps. 132.17.

[4] Sib. Or. 6.16; Ps. Sol. 17.36; cf. Mk. 10.47; 11.10; 15.2.

[5] Test. Levi 8.11 ff., 18; Reub. 6.8; cf. "the messiahs of Aaron and Israel" in CDC 12.23; 14.19; 19.10, 11 (ms B); 1QS 9.11; note also the reference to Christ as a high priest after the order of Melchizedek in Heb.

[6] Dan. 7.13; Enoch 37-71; cf. Mk. 13.26.

[7] Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 363.

[8] 1.49; 18.33.

[9] Jn. 7.27.

[10] Jn. 7.31.

[11] Jn. 7.42.

[12] Jn. 12.34.

rather to refute them, or, better, to fill them with their true significance when applied to Jesus. Jesus *is* the Messiah, the Christ, but in a way not conceived by popular thought and speculation.

The *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ," in its initial meaning suggests, therefore, that Jesus is the fulfillment of Jewish hope; in him the various strands of popular opinion come together (see above, sec. A). This thought is expressed in other ways in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus is pictured as fulfilling or superseding Jewish institutions, as the temple (2.13-22), sabbath observance (5.2-18), the scriptures (5.39-40), the law of Moses (7.22-23), and Jewish tribalism (Abraham's seed, 8.39-59). All expectations find their completion in Jesus as the Christ. And yet he is far more than that which is conveyed by the Jewish title of *messiah*. There are important concepts in John's thought which the χριστός-title in its background did not contain: the pre-existence of Jesus (the Logos), his function as mediator, and his divinity (the Son of God). It is not surprising, therefore, that at times John expresses an alternative *homologia*, "Jesus is the Son of God," as well as the double form, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

In the letters of John the Jewish setting is not nearly so prominent as in the gospel, although here too elements are present which may indicate a Jewish-Christian background.[1] The *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, in itself was certainly formed in a Jewish setting, for as a title the word χριστός would have little meaning to non-Jews. When the formulas in I John (ὁ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, 2.22; ὁ πιστεύων ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, 5.1; cf. 4.2, 3) are compared with the situation expressed in Jn. 12.42 (πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ . . . οὐχ ὡμολόγουν, cf. 9.22, ὁμολογήσῃ χριστόν), the similarity is apparent.

Since the statement Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is also expressed in the Johannine gospel and letters as the *homologia* or as related to it, it becomes necessary to determine what the writer meant by the predicate of this formula.

[1] Piper (*op. cit.*, p. 440 ff.) notes the Semitic influence in I Jn, such as parallelism and antithesis in style, the presence of what has been called "translation Greek"; these features, of course, may be due to the writer's own style or that of his sources. But more crucially, he points to the titles δίκαιος and ἅγιος, which would be meaningful only to those of Jewish background, and the very "Jewish" variant reading in 4.3, λύειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, which he renders "anathematize Jesus." Notice also the Jewish phrase, "sin unto death" (5.16).

The concept of divine sonship was popular in Hellenistic thought. Stories about sons of the gods were familiar from Greek mythology and legend; the prevailing practice of the Roman era was to designate the emperors as the "sons of the gods." In the pre-Christian era, Egyptian and Babylonian kings were considered to be descendents of the gods; the Ptolemies, for example, were called *a diis genitus, filius Isidis et Osiridis*, υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡλίου, and θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς.[1] Augustus called himself θεοῦ υἱός, *divi filius*,[2] and the emperors Caligula, Domitian, and Hadrian also considered themselves descendents of various gods. In addition to these examples, the Hermetic literature and the writings of Lucian and Apuleius also demonstrate the currency of the idea of the divine or deified man, θεῖος ἀνήρ [3] or υἱὸς θεοῦ, and the concepts of humanity and divinity become remarkably intertwined.[4] Prophets and miracle-workers of the early Christian centuries, by virtue of their accomplishments, thus laid claim to the title of υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.[5] While many of these citations are too late to have had a direct influence upon the New Testament literature, they illustrate the prevalence of the concept which in all probability was widely current in the first Christian century.

The title *son of God* was also quite intelligible to Jews of the first Christian century, for it was a part of the religious terminology of their tradition. There was, however, no consistency of meaning, for the term was used in Jewish literature in referring to angels,[6] to kings,[7] to Israel herself,[8] or to the righteous in general.[9] Basically, the phrase was simply the designation of a person or a group of persons who stood in a unique and close relationship with God.

[1] E. Beurlier, *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores ejus* (1890), pp. 47, 59.

[2] BGU 2.543.3 (27 B.C.); P. Tebt. 2.382.21 (1st century B.C.). Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 273), however, argues that the term had nothing to do with divine sonship; it meant rather that Augustus was son by adoption of his father Caesar, now transferred to the place of the gods and known as *Divus*.

[3] For a full discussion of this term, see L. Bieler, Θεῖος Ἀνήρ (2 vols., Wien, 1935-1936).

[4] E.g. *C.H.* 10.25, "Man on earth is a mortal god; God in heaven is an immortal man." For further examples, see the discussion by Dodd, *Interpretation*, pp. 250-252.

[5] E.g. Orig. *Cel.* 6.11.

[6] Gen. 6.2; Job 1.6; 38.7.

[7] II Sam. 7.14; Ps. 2.7; 89.26 f.

[8] Hos. 11.1; Ex. 4.22.

[9] Sir. 4.10; Ps. Sol. 13.8; 17.30; 18.4; Jub. 1.19-25.

That the term connoted messianic ideas in Jewish thought has been debated, and is usually denied. Mowinckel, for example, concludes that the title was not used messianically at the time of Jesus,[1] and his judgment seems to agree with the evidence. II Esdr. 7.28 has been cited as evidence to the contrary, but because of the textual uncertainties [2] and the late date of composition, it is insufficient to establish the point. Therefore, while the title was probably familiar to the Jews of the first Christian century, it is unlikely that it was customarily used to refer to the messiah in Jewish thought of Jesus' day.

The sources of and influences upon the use of *son of God* in the New Testament are therefore not easily defined. It is improbable that the term, or the concept it conveys, was adapted wholly from Hellenistic thought.[3] It has been argued with plausibility that the Christian concept of sonship goes back to primitive Palestinian Christianity, even to the self-consciousness of Jesus [4] or to the belief that Jesus was the Son of the Father in a unique sense.[5] He was in a special sense chosen by God and obedient in serving him. Further, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ may have represented, or called to mind, the Suffering Servant (παῖς = υἱός) of Isaiah, which Jesus may have applied to his own person and mission.[6] One should also note the Christian interpretation of Ps. 2.7 as an indication of an early understanding of Jesus as the Son of God upon a Jewish background.[7] Therefore, while probably not used messianically in pre-Christian Judaism, the title *son of God* was applied to Jesus in the early Christian community and was understood in ways which had their roots primarily in Jewish rather than in Greek thought.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 293 f. and 368 f.

[2] *My son the Messiah* (syr arab 1); *my Messiah* (aeth); *the Messiah* (arab 2); *the Messiah of God* (arm); *my son Jesus* (lat).

[3] This is Bousset's position (*op. cit.*, p. 56); Bultmann (*Theology*, vol. 1, p. 50) gives general assent to this view.

[4] Taylor (*Names*, pp. 59-65) presents a strong argument for this position, based largely upon the evidence of Mt. 11.27 // Lk. 10.22 and Mk. 13.32.

[5] Dodd (*op. cit.*, p. 253) suggests that the application of the title to both the nation and its anointed king might easily have led to its application to the ideal representative, the Messiah.

[6] See E. Huntress, " 'Son of God' in Jewish Writings Prior to the Christian Era," *JBL*, 54 (1935), pp. 117-123, and especially Jeremias in *KTW*, vol. 5, 653-713.

[7] Mt. 3.17; Acts 13.33. Bousset (*op. cit.*, p. 56) suggests, as an alternative to direct Hellenistic influence, that the earliest Christian community adapted the title from Old Testament passages such as Ps. 2.7.

The literature of the New Testament shows that the title *son of God* became deeply ingrained in the Christian tradition. The synoptic gospels use the term of Jesus with considerable frequency and in various contexts; this usage is studied below (Chapter VI, sec. A). The remainder of the New Testament reveals a curious distribution of the term, for υἱός in its several combined forms, referring to Jesus Christ, is not found in the Pastoral letters, James, I Pet., II Pet.,[1] III Jn., or Jude, while Acts uses the term twice [2] and Rev. once.[3] Paul uses υἱός sparingly as compared with his preference for the *kyrios*-title.[4] In the gospel and first two letters of John, however, as well as in Heb.,[5] υἱός occurs frequently.

That by the term ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ the Evangelist means the Messiah is apparent, for example, in the Baptist's testimony, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (1.34), and in Nathanael's acclamation, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (1.49). The appositive use of the title in the fuller *homologia*, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (11.27; 20.31), also points to a messianic interpretation. This Johannine usage is in keeping with the synoptic tradition, where, for example, the confession of Peter in Mt. 16.16 is σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, and the high priest's question is σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; (Mk. 14.61). Indeed, it would appear that whenever the full title is used,[6] that is, *the Son of God*, the messianic idea is present and may even be uppermost in the thought of John (cf. I Jn. 2.22, 23; 4.15; 5.1).

By way of conclusion, therefore, it may be stated that the formula, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, in part expresses the basic Johannine *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ." By "Son of God" John and the primitive church meant the Christ who fulfilled Jewish messianic hopes. It also expressed ideas and concepts which the *Christos*-title did not contain: Jesus was the unique Son of the Father; he was with God from the beginning; he was divine in nature; he was mediator between God and man; he died and was raised from the dead.

[1] It is used in II Pet., however, in referring to the voice at the transfiguration, "This is my beloved Son" (1.17).

[2] 9.20; 13.33.

[3] 2.18.

[4] Υἱός is used seventeen times in comparison with some 130 instances of κύριος.

[5] See below, Chapter VII, sec. B.

[6] Compare also the words of the Jews (19.7) and of Jesus (10.36; in sayings, 5.25; 11.4); cf. ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενής, 1.18; 3.16, 18; I Jn. 4.9.

D. THE JOHANNINE *HOMOLOGIA* IN THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH

The final problem to which attention must be directed in this chapter is to determine from the gospel and letters of John the place and function of the *homologia* in the life of the primitive church. The problem does not relate specifically to the question of origin, which is the concern of many studies on the creed,[1] but rather to the life-situation in which the *homologia* was employed.

In the context of the Johannine literature, the *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," frequently bears the characteristics of a Christological formula which was basic in the theology of the church. It appears to be the epitome of correct belief to which every true Christian subscribed, and as such it stands at the beginning of the history of the later established creeds. This function of the *homologia* is suggested by John's use of πιστεύειν with the formula: πιστεύειν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[2] As Paul suggests, man *believes* with the heart and *confesses* with the lips (Rom. 10.10). In John, too, belief in Jesus as the Christ has to do with personal faith and trust as distinct from open confession, as may be seen in Jn. 12.42 (cf. also chap. 9); this is not merely an intellectual assent to the doctrine expressed by the formula, but rather a personal trust in and conviction concerning the person of Jesus.

These general aspects of personal assent of faith are obvious. When, however, one seeks the more precise position of the *homologia* in the life and worship of the church, one is confronted with many uncertainties. Some scholars have attempted to relate the confession of faith to baptism.[3] While it is probably true that there are implicit references to Christian baptism in the gospel and letters of John, it is less certain that a close relationship exists between such references and the *homologia*. Haussleiter's argument that the aorist tense in I Jn. 4.15 (ὁμολογήσασθαι) points to the single, definite *act* of baptism,[4] as Burn's similar suggestion regarding ἡ νικήσασα in I Jn. 5.4,[5] does not in itself support this

[1] *Supra*, pp. 2-7.

[2] Jn. 11.27; 20.31; I Jn. 5.1, 5; cf. Jn. 4.42 (οἶδα); 6.69; 9.35.

[3] See J. Crehan, *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed* (London, 1949), pp. 26-35; cf. Haussleiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-23, and A. Seeberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 174.

[4] *Op cit.*, p. 20; with the aorist he contrasts the present ὃς ὁμολογεῖ in I Jn. 4.2. Haussleiter also finds the confession in 5.5 to refer to a baptismal formula on the ground of the reference to Jesus' baptism in 5.6 ff.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

position.[1] Passages such as I Jn. 5.1-5, where the *homologia* is expressed twice (vv. 1, 5), may be interpreted upon the background of Christian baptism,[2] but, on the other hand, nothing explicitly supports such an interpretation. In other words, while the *homologia* may have had a place, and probably did, in the ceremony of baptism of converts or catechumens, there is no definite evidence that this use is reflected in the Johannine literature.

On the other hand, I Jn. 4.1-3, with its reference to "spirits," may be understood to reflect a situation of prophetic activity in the church during which the *homologia* was uttered in acclamation or worship.[3] A situation similar to this is described by Paul (I Cor. 12.3),[4] which may well be a reference to ecstatic or prophetic utterances in the assembled congregation, when Jesus was acclaimed as Christ come in the flesh (I Jn. 4.2). But those who, though speaking by "inspiration," did not confess Jesus were not from God, but rather were false prophets (4.1) and antichrists (v. 3). But again the evidence is meager and inconclusive; the *homologia* may have been utilized in the worship [5] and sacraments of the

[1] Crehan (*op. cit.*, pp. 26-35) also cites I Jn. 4.15 and 5.5 as evidence to support his view that the primitive creed at its inception was related to baptism "in the name."

[2] Note, for example, the relation between the belief that Jesus is the Christ and being born of God (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται, 5.1); cf. vv. 4,5. There is also a suggestion of baptism in Jn. 3.1-7.

[3] The dominant emphasis, however, seems to be polemical or apologetic. W. Maurer (*Bekenntnis und Sakrament* [Berlin, 1939], pp. 13-16), while noting that the confession here has the function of a theological norm (*Rechtsnorm*) in the face of adversaries, maintains that its primary setting is in a pneumatic or sacramental situation of the church. It is because the ὁμολογία had its origin in the cultus of the church—baptism, eucharist, worship—that it had the characteristic of communion (*Communio-Charakter*) in all the primitive church and as a result became a standard of truth against those who were not one with the church in the word and act of the confession.

[4] The setting of the two passages is closely parallel, especially when the variant reading λύει is accepted in I Jn. 4.3.

[5] Προσκυνεῖν is used in Jn. 9.38 following the former blind man's acknowledgment of Jesus as the Son of Man (v. 35), but it may mean simply that he prostrated himself before Jesus. A liturgical setting in Jn. 20.19-28 is suggested by Barrett (*op. cit.*, p. 477): "The disciples assemble on the Lord's Day. The blessing is given: εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. The Holy Spirit descends upon the worshippers and the word of absolution (cf. v. 23) is pronounced. Christ himself is present (this may suggest the eucharist and the spoken Word of God) bearing the marks of his passion; he is confessed as Lord and God." But, significantly, the confession which is expressed is not the Johannine *homologia*, but rather titles or names more appropriate in a setting of worship: *Lord* and *God*.

church, but one cannot prove it from Johannine usage.[1]

The gospel of John vividly portrays the conflict which existed between Jesus and the Jews, and, we may safely conclude, it also reflects the controversy between Christianity and Judaism at the time of writing.[2] The conflict between Church and Synagogue, from what we learn in the gospel, is a setting in which the Christian *homologia* had relevance and importance. This is decisively demonstrated in the story of the blind man whom Jesus healed (Jn. 9), where we are told that the Jews had agreed to excommunicate from the synagogue (ἀποσυνάγωγος γενέσθαι) any one who confessed Jesus to be the Christ (ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσῃ χριστόν, v. 22).[3] The idea of exclusion from the synagogue appears to reflect the practice in Asia Minor toward the close of the first century; there is no other evidence that professing Jesus during his lifetime led to excommunication.[4]

The open declaration of the *homologia* therefore became the test of personal faith and conviction. The faith of a Christian could be determined merely by asking him (cf. 9.23, "he is of age, ask him"). Personal belief concerning the person of Jesus might be contained in the heart, but open acknowledgment of Jesus' messiahship clearly distinguished the Christian from the Jew and resulted in his being ostracized from Judaism.[5]

A setting of controversy is also reflected in I John, where not only the confession of Jesus is emphasized (4.2, 15), but also, and more significantly, the denial of Jesus is frequently referred to;

[1] Cf. V. Taylor, who, in discussing the contrast between Paul's κύριος and John's υἱός terminology, concludes that the titles "the Son" and "his Son" were associated with teaching rather than worship; "the first Christians fervently believed in 'the Son,' but they invoked 'the Lord'" (*Names*, p. 57).

[2] *Supra*, pp. 87-89.

[3] Cf. Jn. 12.42; 16.2; III Jn. 10.

[4] For a discussion of Jewish "excommunication," see Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 293-333. Macgregor points out, "There is no evidence that excommunication from the Jewish synagogue for the profession of Jesus ever took place in our Lord's own day; but it was certainly enforced at the time the evangelist wrote. Moreover, in Jesus' day in Palestine only the Sanhedrin had power of excommunication: in Asia Minor the synagogue took the power to itself, authority naturally being decentralized," *The Gospel of John* (New York, 1929), p. 228; cf. Hoskyns, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Bultmann, *Johannes*, p. 254, n. 10; Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

[5] Cf. Jn. 12.42, "Nevertheless many even of the authorities believed in him, but for fear of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue."

the liar and the antichrist is he who denies that Jesus is the Christ (2.22; μὴ ὁμολογεῖν, 4.3, II Jn. 7). The opposite of openly professing Jesus is denying him, that is, rejecting the *homologia* of the primitive church. Thus there is reflected in this literature situations in which the Christian was in the critical position of either professing Jesus or denying him; such a situation, in the light of the evidence in the gospel, involved Jewish conflict, and particularly a conflict between the Church and the Synagogue.

If one accepts the variant reading in I Jn. 4.3 (πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν),[1] which seems to many to be preferable,[2] the evidence becomes even more decisive. Λύειν may be interpreted in the light of Mt. 5.15 and 16.19, where the verb is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew בִּתֵּל (Aramaic, בַּתֵּל), meaning, in reference to the law, *to destroy, annul, cancel,* or *abrogate.*[3] As a parallel to I Cor. 12.3, where ἀνάθεμα is used, the usage in I Jn. 4.3 means *to exorcize* or *anathematize.*[4] Here denial becomes aggressive and hostile, and the authority of Jesus is annulled by a curse or spell. Justin Martyr's remark, referred to earlier, is pertinent also at this point, for he refers to certain Jews who did not believe in Jesus [5] as Christ and "who anathematized him and continue to do so in their synagogues."[6]

Even though it is not possible to determine beyond question who the participants were in the controversy reflected in I John, the place and importance of the Johannine *homologia* in the primitive church is assured. The open conflict and beginnings of persecution which were noted earlier in the life situation of the Pauline *homologia* are equally clear in the Johannine literature, although the adversaries seem to be predominantly Jewish rather than Hellenistic. If further investigation supports this tentative conclusion of a Jewish-Christian conflict, such an explanation will account for certain differences between the Pauline and the Johan-

[1] The reading ὃ λύει is supported by 1739^{mg} lat (*solvit Jesum*) Iren Clem Alex Orig Tert. ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ is found in most mss.

[2] Several commentators prefer this reading; see A. Harnack, *SAB* (1915), pp. 556-561; A. Rahlfs *ThLZ*, 40 (1915), p. 525. More recently it has gained support from O. A. Piper, *JBL*, 66 (1947), pp. 440-444; R. Schnackenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 198; A. N. Wilder, *IB*, vol. 12, p. 276.

[3] See Piper, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-444.

[4] Cf. I Jn. 3.8, εἰς τοῦτο ἐφανερώθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα λ ύ σ η τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου.

[5] The name is not expressly given, but its intention cannot be questioned.

[6] *Trypho* 47, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καταναθεματίσαντας καὶ καταναθεματίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χριστόν.

nine *homologiai*: κύριος Ἰησοῦς has important implications in a Hellenistic setting, while Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός has meaning primarily in a Jewish setting.

In the light of this situation of conflict in I John, the third letter of John is no doubt an occasional letter written to meet a similar problem.[1] Diotrophes is portrayed as the leader of a rival Christian group who has defied the authority of the elder, who has been slanderous and selfishly ambitious, and who has demonstrated inhospitality to the emissaries sent by the elder, even to the extent of excluding from his circle (ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει) those who show hospitality to these missioners. The note of "excommunication" is significant, though it cannot be shown to be exactly parallel to Jn. 9.22. But in agreement with I and II Jn., the third letter refers to a conflict within the church; that is, the difficulty is essentially a "Christian" defection in some form or another. Therefore, while in the gospel the controversy is Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) *versus* Christian, in the letters the controversy appears to be Christian heresy (perhaps of Jewish coloring) *versus* Christian "orthodoxy."

The gospel gives evidence of being written in part to correct current ideas about John the Baptist and about the messianic ideas which were in some way ascribed to him. It appears that at times the *homologia* is used to show that *Jesus* is the Christ, not John the Baptist. The latter is clearly described as the one who testifies (μαρτυρεῖν) to the coming of Christ (1.6, 7, 19, 32, 34; cf. 3.25-30), witnessing that Jesus is the Son of God (1.34),[2] and denying that he himself is the Christ (1.20).[3] While the primary function of the Baptist in John's gospel is to bear witness to Christ, the polemical interest is also present. John the Baptist had been held in high honor for many years and, according to the suggestion of the gospel, was taken by some to be the messiah. In Ephesus some persons knew only the baptism of John (Acts 18.25; 19.3), and it may be that they made messianic claims for their teacher.[4]

[1] Scholars are not in agreement regarding the relationship of III Jn. to the other letters. Dodd (*Epistles of John, op. cit.*, p. lxvi) argues that II and III Jn. reflect situations different from I Jn. Wilder (*op. cit.*, pp. 209-210) maintains that all three are related.

[2] Κἀγὼ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

[3] Καὶ ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὡμολόγησεν ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ χριστός.

[4] *Ps. Clem. Rec.* 1.54, 60 states that some of the disciples of John claimed that their master was the Christ.

In addition to the problem involving John the Baptist, there was the general polemical orientation already described, whether that was directed against docetic or Jewish views.[1] The use of the *homologia* in this situation is more clearly seen in the letters, particularly I and II Jn., which are polemical in much of their content. In this connection, the *homologia* has the key function of serving as the norm for true faith. The false teachers are first referred to in I Jn. 2.18 ff., where they are called ἀντίχριστοι (v. 18); these had left the Christian fellowship of John's circle, though he claims they never were really a part of it (v. 19). Their error is described in simple terms:

τίς ἐστιν ὁ ψεύστης εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός;
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀντίχριστος, ὁ ἀρνούμενος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.
πᾶς ὁ ἀρνούμενος τὸν υἱὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει·
ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει (vv. 22, 23).

The defection at its center was the refusal to accept and adhere to the primitive *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, which went back to the very beginning (cf. Mk. 8.29). The true Christian is the one who confesses Jesus as Christ (or the Son).

The issue becomes still clearer in 4.2, 3 where the *homologia* is interpreted by John to mean that Jesus is Christ come in the flesh.

ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ·
πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν,
καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ[2] τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν.[3]

The *homologia* thus becomes a test for the errorists[4] by which their standing in relation to apostolic Christianity may be determined. They must acknowledge (a) that Jesus is the Christ, that is, both the Messiah and the Son of God (2.22, 23, above), and, moreover, (b) that Jesus as the Christ has come in the flesh, having

[1] *Supra*, pp. 82-89.

[2] For the variant reading ὃ λύει, see above, p. 101.

[3] Cf. II Jn. 7, ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί.

[4] Piper (*op. cit.*, p. 442) appropriately calls I Jn. 4.2, 3 an "ecclesiastical rule."

lived a real, human life in history.[1] We have therefore a clear instance of the *homologia* being utilized polemically to meet an heretical movement in the church; there is, as well, the addition of a qualifying phrase to clarify a point which was implicit, but not explicit, in the primitive *homologia*.

The normative character of the *homologia* is further demonstrated in II Jn., where in addition to the formula there is reference to ἡ διδαχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (v. 9).[2] The parallelism to I Jn. 2.23 is striking:

πᾶς ὁ προάγων καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει·
ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ,
οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει.

John further instructs the church (ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία) that she is not to receive into her house those who do not bear the *didache*, not even to greet them, for this is to have fellowship with evil deeds (vv. 10, 11).[3] It would appear that here the "doctrine of Christ" is the larger *paradosis* of the apostolic faith (most probably including the *homologia*) and the development of what Stauffer calls the "Johannine school" of catechetical instruction[4] which evolved from the struggle with heretical views.[5] The movement which is briefly alluded to in I and II Jn. apparently rejected both the primitive *homologia* (I Jn. 2.22, 23; 4.2, 3; II Jn. 7) and the apostolic *didache* (II Jn. 9, 10).

It is quite clear, therefore, that the *homologia* assumes a position of great importance in the struggle of the church against those who sought to alter the essentials of the faith. Though some deny or minimize the polemical function of the early confession (or creed, as some prefer),[6] the evidence of the Johannine literature shows

[1] Dodd (*Johannine Epistles*, p. 149) states, "The heresy is that of denying the reality of the Incarnation; denying, that is to say, that the eternal Christ, the Son of God, ever really lived a human life in history."

[2] Cf. Jn. 7.16; Rom. 6.17; Jude 3.

[3] Note a similar warning against false teachers in Ign. *Smy.* 4.1; 7.2; cf. Did. 11.2, ὁ διδάσκων . . . διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχήν.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 320, n. 751. There is also a Pauline (Tit. 1.9), a Roman (Rom. 6.17), and later an Alexandrine school; cf. W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom* (Göttingen, 1915).

[5] "The discussions between the different Christian schools, but more particularly their common struggle with heretical schools of thought, led inevitably to the formation of formal academic doctrines" (*op. cit.*, p. 236).

[6] E.g. W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen, 1934), and A. N. Wilder, *IB*, vol. 12, pp. 247, 274.

clearly that the *homologia* had precisely such a function in the primitive church of John's sphere of activity. The Fourth Gospel predominantly combats a movement of Jewish tendencies, and the letters appear to be directed against a syncretistic movement embodying various elements, including those of a Jewish character.

E. CONCLUSION

The *homologia* finds clear and ample expression in the letters and gospel of John. Its presence in the literature may be determined by the literary style and the linguistic evidence of the writings. We have noticed the use of ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι [1] (as well as other verbs with ὅτι) [2] and ὁμολογεῖν with the double accusative [3] or the infinitive phrase [4] to introduce the *homologia*. Moreover, the form and structure of certain statements display characteristics which suggest that they are formulas of faith, e.g., the use of οὗτός ἐστιν,[5] or its corollaries in the first (ἐγώ εἰμι) [6] and second (σὺ εἶ) [7] persons, and the form in the epistles, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν.[8]

The basic *homologia* of the gospel and letters of John is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, "Jesus is the Christ" (e.g. Jn. 1.20; 7.26, 41; 9.22; I Jn. 2.22; 5.1). The alternate or supplementary form, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, also finds frequent expression (Jn. 1.34, 49; 10.36; I Jn. 4.15; 5.5), and twice both forms are combined in a single statement, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (Jn. 11.27; 20.31). Other Christological formulas which are introduced in the gospel (e.g. 4.42; 5.27; 6.14; 6.69; 18.33) are essentially variations of the basic *homologia*; these John includes in order to correct faulty or inadequate messianic ideas current in his time.

The Johannine *homologia*, therefore, in its basic form and intention had relevance for the messianic question as it existed during the life of Jesus and the time of John's literary activity. It expressed the confidence that in Jesus the Messiah of God had come; the eschatological hope of Israel, in its various forms of expression,

[1] Jn. 1.20; I Jn. 4.15.

[2] ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι, I Jn. 2.22; μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι, Jn. 1.34; λέγειν ὅτι, Jn. 6.14; cf. 7.40, 41; πιστεύειν ὅτι, Jn. 8.24; 11.27; 20.31; I Jn. 5.1, 5; γινώσκειν ὅτι, Jn. 7.26; 8.28; 4.42 (οἶδα); πιστεύειν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι, Jn. 6.69.

[3] Jn. 9.22; I Jn. 4.2; II Jn. 7; cf. Rom. 10.9; Ign. *Smy.* 5.2.

[4] Jn. 9.22 (D e); I Jn. 4.2 (B); cf. Tit. 1.16; Poly. 7.1a.

[5] Jn. 1.34; 4.42; 6.14; 7.40, 41.

[6] Jn. 1.20; 3.28; 4.25; 10.36.

[7] Jn. 1.49 (twice); 6.69; 10.24; 11.27; 18.33.

[8] I Jn. 2.22; 4.2; 4.15; II Jn 7.

was realized. The prevalence of the *homologia*, "Jesus is the Christ," indicates both that John accurately portrays the circumstances of the life of Jesus during which the messianic question was important, and that the problem which underlies the gospel and to which he addressed himself in the letters (particularly I John) was of a Jewish nature.

The secondary form of the *homologia*, "Jesus is the Son of God," which is sometimes practically synonymous with the *Christos*-formula (Jn. 1.34, 49; cf. I Jn. 2.22, 23; 4.15; 5.1), provides concepts which χριστός in its background did not contain. The frequent use of υἱός and πατήρ in the gospel defines these concepts: Jesus was the unique Son of the Father; he was with the Father from the beginning; he was his representative and the mediator between God and man. The thoughts and concepts expressed by the Son of God formula, while containing meaning and relevance for a Jewish audience, were also important for readers of a Hellenistic background.

The definitive formula, "Christ come in the flesh" (I Jn. 4.2; II Jn. 7; cf. I Jn. 5.6), brought to clear expression that which already was inherently contained in the basic *homologia*: Jesus is the Christ, but Christ as come in the flesh. John was concerned, therefore, not merely to ascribe messiahship to Jesus, but also to emphasize that the Christ, the Son of God, who was awaited or already believed in, was *Jesus*, the historical person who lived and who suffered death. Jesus is the Christ manifested in the flesh. The *homologia*, particularly when clarified by the definitive formula (i.e. I Jn. 4.2, *et al.*), is directed against those who minimized or neglected the earthly life of Jesus; these were probably of Jewish or Hellenistic-Jewish background.

The function of the *homologia* in the Johannine literature is basically threefold, though the lines separating the areas are indistinct.

(1) As a confession of faith the *homologia* was the test or criterion of true inspiration and belief (I Jn. 4.1-3). This usage belonged to the beginnings of the creed as a positive statement of the church's basic faith. Whether its original nexus was baptism (? I Jn 5.1-5), worship (? Jn. 20.19-28), or something else, is not disclosed by the Johannine literature. In any case, however, the *homologia* represents the basic faith to which the primitive church subscribed and by which it determined the presence of the true Spirit in the assembled congregation.

(2) As a profession of faith the *homologia* was the test of personal belief and conviction. In contrast with its function as a standard or norm, the *homologia* was the open confession and acknowlegment of faith in the face of opponents and adversaries who denied the content of the formula. While the conflict in the gospel is pictured as Jewish-Christian (Jn. 9; 12.42), in the epistles it is more clearly heretical-Christian (I Jn. 2.22, 23; 4.1-3), although "Jewish" and "heretical" are not mutually exclusive.

(3) As a statement of "orthodoxy" the *homologia* was not only a test of true faith but also a weapon used polemically against heretical movements (I Jn. 2.18-23; 4.1-3; II Jn. 9-11). Any one who did not accept the primitive *homologia* did not belong to the Christian fellowship; but this required that the formula must be properly understood. Therefore the primitive formula, "Jesus is the Christ," was expanded by the explanatory phrase, "Christ as come in the flesh," to meet the aberration which denied the Incarnation of the Son of God and thus in effect denied the *homologia*. This polemical use of the *homologia* is a primary and vital function in the Johannine literature, appearing most conspicuously in the letters.

CHAPTER VI

THE *HOMOLOGIA* IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND ACTS

The study of the Pauline and Johannine literature has been instructive in providing criteria which assist one in the search for the primitive Christian *homologia* in other books of the New Testament. Since the linguistic clues provided by the ὁμολογία-ὁμολογεῖν group and other related words appear infrequently in the Synoptics and in Acts, one must depend upon Christological formulas and upon the theology reflected in the writings as a whole in order to discern and reconstruct the Christian *homologia.*

The synoptic gospels and the book of Acts purportedly represent the earliest period of the Christian era—the life of Jesus and the beginnings of the primitive church. The problem which is inherent in investigating this literature is similar to that which was encountered earlier in relation to the gospel of John, namely, the problem of discerning those elements in the accounts which represent the historical situation itself and those which reflect the situation at the time of writing. Though the *homologia* is more veiled in these writings than in the Pauline and Johannine literature, nevertheless it will become apparent that they likewise contain important evidence for the study of the primitive tradition.

A. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The investigation of the synoptic material for evidence relating to the primitive *homologia* must utilize primarily the Christological statements which are formulary in character and in style, and the situation in which such declarations are given, including the "confession" of Peter and the accusations against Jesus during his trial. An attempt will be made to precipitate the basic *homologia* and to ascertain its meaning in the primitive church.

The naming and acknowledging of Jesus as ὁ χριστός is found in all three synoptic gospels. Perhaps best known is Peter's declaration on the road to Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8.29):[1]

σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός.

[1] Mt. 16.16, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος; Lk. 9.20, τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (D e, τὸν χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ).

According to Matthew (16.20) Jesus then charged his disciples to tell no one

ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.[1]

While demons usually address Jesus by using other names ("Son of God," "Son of David"; see below), in Lk. 4.41 they are described as knowing that he is the Christ:

ὅτι ἤδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

The title ὁ χριστός is given to Jesus most frequently in the Passion story. The high priest questions Jesus by asking (Mk. 14.61),

σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς[2] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;[3]

This designation of Jesus as the Christ is echoed later in the Passion story by the accusation brought to Pilate,[4] by Pilate's words,[5] by the mocking crowd,[6] and by one of the thieves.[7]

The title *Son of God* is also ascribed to Jesus in the synoptic gospels. The voice of God declares to Jesus at his baptism (Mk. 1.11 // Mt. 3.17; Lk. 3.22),

σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.

In the temptation experience, the devil says to Jesus (Mt. 4.3, 6 // Lk. 4.3, 9).

εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ,

which probably reflects the doubt or testing in the mind of Jesus of the acknowledgment of his sonship by the Father at his baptism. At the transfiguration (Mk. 9.7 // Mt. 17.5; Lk. 9.35), a Bath Kol declares:

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.

Unclean spirits call to Jesus (Mk. 3.11; Lk. 4.41),

σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[8]

[1] Mk. 8.30, ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ.
[2] Manuscripts Φ k omit ὁ χριστός.
[3] Mt. 26.63, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; Lk. 22.67, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός.
[4] Lk. 23.3, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι.
[5] Mt. 27.17, 22, Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν.
[6] Mk. 15.32, ὁ χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραήλ; Lk. 23.35, εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός.
[7] Lk. 23.39, οὐχὶ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός;
[8] Cf. the vocative, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψίστου (Mk. 5.7 // Lk. 8.28; Mt. 8.29, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ).

Once the disciples acclaim Jesus as the Son of God, following the cessation of the storm; those in the boat worshipped him, saying (Mt. 14.33),

ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ.

The sonship of Jesus is expressed in the Passion story, as has already been seen in the question of the high priest (Mk. 14.61 // Mt. 26.63),

σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ;

A similar statement is repeated in the mockery of the crowds;[1] Jesus is reported to have claimed the title of Son of God;[2] and the centurion at the cross acknowledges Jesus' sonship.[3]

The synoptic gospels also indicate that Jesus was called the Son of David. The crowds, amazed by his miracles of healing, ask (Mt. 12.23),

μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ;

Although μή may indicate that the crowd rejected this assertion,[4] the formula nevertheless suggests the currency of this belief. The demoniacs frequently address Jesus as υἱὸς (υἱὲ) Δαυίδ,[5] and the crowds at the entry into Jerusalem cry out, ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ.[6] While Jesus is thus called the Son of David by the people and by the demon-possessed, it is clear that he himself rejected the title and the concepts it represented (Mk. 12.35-37 // Mt. 22.41-45; Lk. 20.41-44).

In the trial scene before Pontius Pilate, one other title is ascribed to Jesus in a formulary style, and is thus indirectly related to the *homologia*. It is found in the question of Pilate (Mk. 15.2 // Mt. 27.11; Lk. 23.3),

σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

The statement naming Jesus the king of the Jews (or of Israel)[7]

[1] Mt. 27.40, εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ; Lk. 22.70, σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ;

[2] Mt. 27.43, εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός.

[3] Mk. 15.39, οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ (Mt. 27.54, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος).

[4] Questions beginning with μή normally expect a negative answer; see A. T. Robertson, *Grammar* (4th ed., New York, 1923), pp. 1168 f.

[5] Mk. 10.47, 48; Mt. 20.30, 31; Lk. 18.38, 39; Mt. 9.27; 15.22.

[6] Mt. 21.9, 15; cf. Mk. 11.10.

[7] The concept of kingship is also prominent during the entry into Jerusalem; cf. βαλιλεία (Mk. 11.10), βασιλεύς (Mt. 21.5; Lk. 19.38).

is frequently repeated in the scenes which follow [1] and was included in the inscription attached to the cross.[2]

Therefore, according to the synoptic gospels, Jesus is acknowledged as the Messiah, as the Son of God, as the Son of David, and as the king of the Jews.[3] These expressions are all found in the form of Christological statements involving one of the following constructions: ἐγώ εἰμι, σὺ εἶ, αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτός ἐστιν, or αὐτὸν εἶναι. This does not mean that they are forms of the *homologia* itself, although they may be (*e.g.* σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός); rather, they are ascriptions to Jesus of current ideas and beliefs which may reflect the beginnings of the *homologia* during the life of Jesus and/or its currency in the life of the church during the development of the gospel tradition.

Perhaps the clearest expression of the *homologia* among the examples just cited, and certainly one of the most significant, is the statement commonly called the confession of Peter: σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός (Mk. 8.29).[4] If the testimony of Jn. 1.41 is set aside, where Andrew tells his brother Simon, εὑρήκαμεν τὸν μεσσίαν, Mk. 8.29 is the first instance where the messiahship of Jesus is openly acclaimed by one of his disciples.

The synoptic accounts indicate that the conviction concerning the person of Jesus came by way of experience and divine inspiration (Mt. 16.17). There was something dynamic and attractive about the personality of Jesus, else the disciples would not have left all to follow him.[5] The miracles and deeds of mercy which Jesus performed must have deepened and matured their estimation of him.[6] Though Jesus sought to silence the acclamation of

[1] Mk. 15.8, 12, 18, 32; Mt. 27.29, 42; Lk. 23.2, 37.

[2] Mk. 15.23 // Mt. 27.37; Lk. 23.38.

[3] Two observations may be made in passing. First, the title κύριος is not used in the synoptic gospels in any form which suggests the *homologia*, κύριος Ἰησοῦς. Secondly, the title υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, found frequently in the synoptic gospels, is never ascribed by others to Jesus, but is used by Jesus of himself; it therefore has no meaning for the *homologia* except as it adds thought and content to the word χριστός (*infra*, p. 113).

[4] The variations of the confession found in the parallel passages of Mt. 16.16, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, and Lk. 9.20, τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, are probably expansions of the shorter form found in Mk.

[5] Mk. 1.16-20 // Mt. 4.18-22; Lk. 5.1-11. John pictures the first disciples as recognizing Jesus as the Messiah or Son of God (1.41, 49).

[6] Cf. Jesus' answer to the inquiry of John the Baptist, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them" (Lk. 7.22).

demoniacs when they called him "the Holy One of God," [1] "the Christ," [2] or "the Son of God," [3] it is obvious that such utterances, as well as Jesus' command for silence, would affect the thought and conviction of the disciples.

Since the question of the historicity of Peter's confession has been raised by several scholars,[4] it is necessary to determine, if possible, the life situation in which the *homologia* originated or in which it was affected. If we accept the view of Bultmann, that the narrative is *Glaubenslegende* and the confession of Peter is an attempt by the church to trace the conviction of Jesus' messiahship to an historical occurrence, then the belief regarding the person of Jesus, represented by the *homologia*, originated after the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Furthermore, then the passage is directed polemically by Pauline Christianity against Jewish Christianity represented by Peter, which stumbled at the thought of a suffering Christ.[5] On the other hand, however, the reference to the geographical location made by Mark (a gospel which in general is unconcerned about place-names), the exact chronological dating of the event in relation to the transfiguration,[6] and the stern rebuke of Peter by Jesus, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ (Mk. 8.33), suggest the genuineness of the story. One may, therefore, tentatively accept the "confession" of Peter as historically accurate and understand it as an account of the occasion when the belief of the disciples was first formulated in a verbal declaration.

It is necessary to seek precisely what the confession meant. The context indicates that Peter used ὁ χριστός in its popular meaning of the messianic king who was to deliver Israel. This is suggested by Jesus' subsequent prediction of the passion in terms of the Son of man who must suffer, die, and be raised (Mk. 8.31-32). Such a definition of the messianic office obviously was not what Peter

[1] Ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ (Mk. 1.24 // Lk. 4.34; cf. Jn. 6.69), although not a messianic title, is probably so intended here.

[2] Lk. 4.41, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι (so Mk. 1.34, ℵ^{c} B C L W Θ famm. 1, 13, *et al.*); cf. Mk. 1.34, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν.

[3] Mk. 3.11 // Lk. 4.41, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. Mk. 5.7 // Mt. 8.29; Lk. 8.28.

[4] M. Dibelius (*From Tradition to Gospel* [London, 1934], p. 110) and R. Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* [3rd ed. Göttingen, 1957], pp. 275-278) classify the story of Peter's confession as a "legend." V. Taylor (*The Gospel According to St. Mark* [London, 1955], pp. 374-375) argues for its genuineness.

[5] Bultmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 275-278. On the whole, his argument is subjective and without convincing evidence.

[6] "After six days," Mk. 9.2.

meant in the confession.[1] For Peter, Jesus was the anointed of God, the deliverer, in whom the hopes of Israel were to be fulfilled. While the realization of this conviction, as well as its formulation, is of momentous import, nevertheless χριστός as used by Peter is devoid of later connotations gained after the resurrection. In the confession of Peter, however, we have the first expression of what may be called the Christian *homologia*.

Another important scene in which the *homologia* has relevance is the trial of Jesus. Among the Christological forms expressed, the most significant are the question of the high priest, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; (Mk. 14.61 and //s), and the question of Pilate, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; (Mk. 15.2 and //s).

According to Mk. 14.63, Jesus openly admits to the high priest and his associates that he is the Christ (ἐγώ εἰμι). But in the parallel accounts, as well as in certain significant manuscripts of Mk. 14.63, his words are more indefinite.[2] The ambiguous σὺ λέγεις is also used by Jesus in replying to Pilate (Mk. 15.2 // Mt. 27.11; Lk. 23.3). In spite of the rather vague answer, the conversations indicate that Jesus at least did not deny what was asked; further, the expressions may be taken as a "half-yes," [3] by which Jesus gives basic assent to the query, although he would perhaps have expressed it differently himself. In fact, immediately following his reply to the high priest Jesus adds the significant statement taken from Ps. 110.1 and Dan. 7.13, "and you shall see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mk. 14.62). As in the confession of Peter, Jesus accepts the title ὁ χριστός but does so according to his own understanding of the term in harmony with the υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου imagery.

As used by the Jewish leaders, however, ὁ χριστός indicated the office of messianic king, the deliverer of Israel. The accusation submitted to Pilate was that Jesus claimed to be Christ a king.[4] The question put to Jesus by Pilate, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

[1] Cf. Mk. 8.32, καὶ προσλαβόμενος ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤρξατο ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ.

[2] Mk. 14.63 (Θ fam. 13 472 *et al.* geo arm Orig), σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, Mt. 26.64, σὺ εἶπας, Lk. 22.70, ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι. The variant reading in Mk. 14.63 may represent the original, since it is well attested, since it would account for the parallel accounts in Mt. and Lk., and since it is in keeping with the general view of messiahship expressed in the second gospel.

[3] So E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (Göttingen, 1937), p. 335. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 579, says that the answer "is an affirmation which implies that the speaker would put things differently."

[4] Lk. 23.3, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι.

represents both the charge against Jesus and the political equivalent of the high priest's question, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός; Although Pilate was not convinced of Jesus' guilt of insurrection as a pretender to the throne, he yielded to popular demand, and Jesus was executed upon this charge. The designation of Jesus as king is reflected in the mocking which followed [1] and is expressed in the inscription over the cross.[2] That Jesus himself rejected this aspect of the χριστός-title can be seen by his attitude to the title which more explicitly contained this concept, υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυίδ.[3]

A further conclusion may be drawn from the scenes of the trial. The pattern of Jesus' testimony before the hostile authorities became normative in the primitive church when it too suffered persecution. As Jesus did not deny his identity in the trials but made a good confession before the Jews and Pilate,[4] so also faithful Christians openly declared the *homologia* before their opponents, without concern for the consequences.[5] It is in this light that the saying in Mt. 10.32-33 is to be interpreted: πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . .; the idiom ὁμολογεῖν ἔν τινι is an Aramaism that should be understood as a simple accusative: "whoever will confess me before men." [6] The opposite of confessing is also expressed: ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσηταί με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . (Mt. 10.33).[7] The necessity of confessing (ὁμολογεῖν) and the avoidance of denying (ἀρνεῖσθαι or αἰσχύνειν) [8] in time of persecution, seen forcefully in Jesus' faithfulness in admitting his messiahship and in Peter's denial of his relationship to Christ, is placed upon

[1] Mk. 15.8, 12, 18, 32; Mt. 27.29, 42; Lk. 23.2, 37.

[2] Mk. 15.26 // Mt. 27.37; Lk. 23.38.

[3] Mk. 12.35-37 // Mt. 22.41-45; Lk. 20.41-44.

[4] Cf. I Tim. 6.13, Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν (see below, pp. 130-131).

[5] Cf. Mar. Poly. 12.1, Πολύκαρπος ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι, and he refused to deny Christ (βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, 9.2); cf. also Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.

[6] Cf. II Clem. 3.2, which uses the accusative in its quotation of this verse. See E. Nestle, "Zum neutestamentlichen Griechisch," *ZNW*, 7 (1906), pp. 279-280; 8 (1907), p. 241; 9 (1908), p. 253; F. C. Burkitt, *Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus* (Boston and New York, 1910), pp. 19 f.; J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh, 1919), v. 2, pp. 463 f.

[7] Cf. Mk. 8.38 // Lk. 9.26, ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς (λόγους, *v.l.*).

[8] Cf. Phil. 1.20, where the prisoner Paul expresses that he hopes not only to be delivered, but also that he shall not be ashamed. Is this the expression of the hope that he will not deny his Lord during his trial?

every follower of Jesus. When the Christian is called upon to acknowledge his faith before men, he must openly declare his allegiance and thus secure his heavenly reward.[1]

If the confession of Peter and the questions of the high priest and Pilate be taken as indicative of the early Christian *homologia*, then the basic confession is clearly Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. Indeed, it seems certain that this is the *homologia* reflected in the synoptic gospels as a group. The other Christological formulas noted above, with the possible exception of Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, cannot be expressions of the *homologia*. As has been pointed out, the formula in which βασιλεύς is used represents the political equivalent of χριστός-formula,[2] and thus by itself is not the *homologia*.[3]

The designation of Jesus as υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυίδ by those in distress [4] and by the crowds [5] represents a primitive belief regarding the Messiah,[6] just as βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ does. It is a messianic title that had its roots in the Old Testament and was current in first century Judaism.[7] Jesus' own discussion of the title (Mk. 12.35-37 // Mt. 22.41-45; Lk. 20.41-44) shows that, while he did not repudiate the Davidic descent of the Messiah, he nevertheless did not consider it an essential attribute, emphasizing that the Messiah was superior to David and in this sense not his son.[8] Although the Davidic descent of Jesus is found, for example, in the geneologies of Matthew and Luke, and this emphasis gained some currency in the early confessions of faith,[9] it cannot be considered as an expression of

[1] Cf. Rev. 2.13-17.

[2] Cf. Lk. 23.2, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, and Mk. 15.32, ὁ χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεύς.

[3] Βασιλεύς is used infrequently in later confessions and creeds. Cf. Mar. Poly. 9.3, where Polycarp, when asked to confess Caesar and renounce Christ, says πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου τὸν σώσαντά με.

[4] Mk. 10.47-48 // Mt. 20.30-31; Lk. 18.38-39; also Mt. 9.27; 15.22.

[5] Mt. 12.23, μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ; 21.9, 15, ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ (cf. Mk. 11.10).

[6] See Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-318; Bousset (*op. cit.*, pp. 4-5) says the title does not go back to the earliest tradition, but is a reflection of the later conviction of the church.

[7] E.g. II Sam. 7.16; Isa. 11.1 ff.; I Mac. 2.57; Ps. Sol. 17.23.

[8] Barn. 12.10, which quotes these verses and Ps. 110.1, seems to understand the passage in this way; Jesus is υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, not υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and therefore not the son of David as "they" (? Jews) say. A polemical interest against the υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυίδ concept seems also to be present in Acts 2.29, 34.

[9] Cf. Rom. 1.3, περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα. Rom. 1.3-4 is considered to be a pre-Pauline formula; so Dodd, *Romans*, p. 5; Michel, *Römerb.*, p. 31; Bultmann, *Theology*, vol. 1, p. 49.

the primitive *homologia*, except in so far as it relates to the basic formula Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.[1]

It remains to be considered whether in the synoptic gospels the acknowledgment of Jesus as Son of God is an expression of the *homologia*.[2] It is true that the *homologia* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ was important in the early church; particularly is it expressed in the Johannine literature.[3] Moreover it seems assured that the *homologia* which underlies the gospel of Mark as a whole is likewise the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Son of God.[4] The question that presses for an answer is to what extent the use of this title in the synoptic gospels reflects the messiahship of Jesus, that is, the *homologia* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. Even more precisely, one must inquire how far it expresses the conviction and confession of the followers of Jesus during his own lifetime.

Regarding the relationship between ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ χριστός, it must be observed that at times they are used appositively, presumably as synonyms. This is illustrated by Matthew's version of Peter's confession, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος (16.16), by the high priest's question, σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; (Mk. 14.61 // Mt. 26.63), and by Luke's interpretation of the demoniac's exclamation (σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Lk. 4.41), ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.[5]

In answer to the question whether or not the formula of Jesus as the Son of God expressed the faith of the disciples during Jesus' life, it must be said that Jesus is called "Son of God" by them only once in the synoptic gospels; following the stilling of the storm the disciples worship Jesus and say, ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ (Mt. 14.33).[6] The demon-possessed call him the Son of God,[7] and the title is used by the devil during the temptation experiences,[8] reflecting, no

[1] The single occurrence of ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ (Mk. 1.24 // Lk. 4.34; cf. Jn. 6.69) may be considered as messianic, although the title in its background cannot be shown to have been so; see V. Taylor, *Mark*, p. 174; F. C. Grant, *IB*, vol. 7, p. 662.

[2] For a discussion of the background of this title and its use in the Johannine literature, see above, pp. 94 ff.

[3] Cf. Jn. 1.34, 49; 11.27; 20.31; I Jn. 4.15; 5.5.

[4] Cf. the title in Mk. 1.1, ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ. See Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289; V. Taylor, *Mark*, pp. 120-122.

[5] Note also Mk. 1.1, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ.

[6] Cf. Mk. 6.45-52 and Jn. 6.16-21, where there is no such expression of worship.

[7] Mk. 3.11 // Lk. 4.41; cf. the vocative Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου (Mk. 5.7 // Mt. 8.29; Lk. 8.28).

[8] Mt. 4.3, 6 // Lk. 4.3, 9.

doubt, the Voice at the baptism, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός.[1] It is also expressed in the scenes following the trial, by the mocking crowd [2] and the centurion.[3]

On the basis of this evidence, it appears to be unlikely that the confession of Jesus as the Son of God had any significant place during the life of Jesus. The *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, is reflected in the gospel rather than in Jesus' life itself. The roots of the concept of Jesus' sonship go back to the baptism experience, to Jesus' estimate of his own person,[4] and to the disciples' conviction of the uniqueness of their master. It was probably after the resurrection that the concept was expressed as a confession of the faith of the church.

It must be concluded, therefore, that the basic *homologia* in the synoptic gospels is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, clearly expressed by Peter and acknowledged by Jesus during his trial. The designation ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ has a secondary function so far as the *homologia* is concerned in that it expresses the confession of the Evangelists (especially Mark) or the early church, although it too appears to be grounded in the life of Jesus.

B. THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The book of Acts gives witness to the primitive Christian *homologia* in a manner similar to that of the synoptic gospels; namely, though the terms ὁμολογεῖν and ὁμολογία are absent, various Christological formulas are expressed or suggested. This diversified witness in Acts reflects the circumstance that several sources are embodied in the Lucan composition. And yet, when the simple and dual formulas are examined, it is significant that a certain unity

[1] Mk. 1.11 // Mt. 3.17 (οὗτος); Lk. 3.22; similarly, God says at the transfiguration, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk. 9.7 // Mt. 17.5; Lk. 9.35).

[2] Mt. 27.40 // Lk. 22.70; they also report Jesus to have said that he was the Son of God (εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός, Mt. 27.43).

[3] Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ (Mk. 15.39 // Mt. 27.54); Lk. 23.47, ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν.

[4] The passages most crucial are Mk. 13.32 and Mt. 11.27 // Lk. 10.22. Although the genuineness of the former is denied (cf. Bultmann, *Geschichte*, p. 130; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 f.), the offensiveness of the idea that Jesus should be limited in knowledge strongly supports its genuineness (cf. A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* [Cambridge, 1914], p. 306; Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Taylor, *Mark*, p. 522). The genuineness of the "Q" saying is convincingly argued by Taylor (*Names*, pp. 60-64), although some reject it (e.g. Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50; Bultmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172).

underlies them, and it is possible to conclude that a basic *homologia* is expressed in the book of Acts.

The Christological formula which is reflected most frequently in Acts is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. At Damascus, Paul entered the synagogue

> καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν
> ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (9.20).[1]

Here, as verse 22 states, Paul confounded the Jews by proving

> ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.

Also in Thessalonica Paul preached in the synagogue and argued with the Jews from the Scriptures, explaining and proving

> ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν
> καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν
> καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός,
> ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν (17.2-3).

The latter passage explains what was entailed in the presentation of the gospel to the Jews. It involved, first, a proof from the Scriptures that the messiah had to die and be raised. Then, since Jesus fulfilled this expectation, it was concluded that he must be the Christ.

Other examples of the formula include the following:

> ὁ Παῦλος διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις
> εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (18.5).
> Ἀπολλῶς . . . ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν
> εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (18.28).
> οἱ ἀπόστολοι . . . οὐκ ἐπαύνοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ
> εὐαγγελιζόμενοι
> τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (5.42).[2]

It is possible that the *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς is presupposed in parts of Acts, although the evidence is meager and inconclusive.

[1] This is the only clear example in Acts where the title "Son of God" is applied to Jesus. Though containing other ideas, it is best here to take it as synonymous with ὁ χριστός (see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* [London, 1951], p. 204); this is proved by v. 22 (see below). Cf. 8.37 (*v.l.*).

[2] It is possible to translate this, "teaching and preaching Christ Jesus," but the similarity to the foregoing formulas is inescapable, and it is best to translate, "preaching that Jesus is the Christ." Cf. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 4, p. 63, "they did not cease teaching and telling the good news of the Messiah, — Jesus"; RSV, "Jesus as the Christ."

It is stated in 11.20 that Greek-Christians of Cyprus and Cyrene spoke to the Greeks of Antioch,

εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν.

Although it is possible to translate this, "preaching the Lord Jesus," the intention of the writer seems rather to be, "preaching Jesus as the Lord," or "preaching, 'Jesus is the Lord.' "[1] The lordship of Jesus (as contrasted with his messiahship)[2] was the central message to a non-Jewish audience, and thus was in agreement with the Pauline *homologia*.[3] The idea of the lordship of Jesus is found elsewhere, particularly in 2.36,

ὅτι καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός,
τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν....

The thought primarily emphasized here is that in the resurrection God made Jesus both Lord and Christ.[4] The designation of Jesus as Lord, so important in the letters of Paul, is here apparently attributed to the resurrection.[5] Less certain is the phrase found in Acts 10.36, where, in the course of his sermon to Cornelius and his household, Peter says,

οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος.[6]

Therefore, although the formula κύριος Ἰησοῦς is not explicitly quoted, there is other evidence that the belief in Jesus as the Lord is implied in the book of Acts.[7]

[1] Jackson and Lake (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 129) prefer "Jesus as the Lord," which they consider to be the final stage of the evolution of the early preaching. In the first stage, the good news was the coming of the kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus; in the second, Jesus was "the Man" ordained to be judge of the living and the dead, proclaimed by the disciples to the Jews; in the third and final stage, Jesus was proclaimed as κύριος.

[2] See Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[3] To the phrase in 11.20, cf. 11.17, "when we believed ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν."

[4] Jackson and Lake (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 26) say that κύριος and χριστός are intended as synonyms.

[5] For the discussion of the κύριος title, see above, pp. 51-60.

[6] This is called "an ejaculatory parenthesis" by Jackson and Lake (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 120); so Bruce (*op. cit.*, pp. 224-225). E. Haenchen (*Die Apostelgeschichte* [Göttingen, 1956], p. 304, n. 4) argues that this is to be taken personally: Jesus is Lord of all, of both the Jew and the heathen. The phrase does not seem to have direct reference to the resurrection, although, coming as it does after Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, it may well reflect the *homologia* current at the time of writing.

[7] Note also the interesting language in the accounts of Paul's conversion (9.5; 22.8; 26.15), where Paul addresses the voice as κύριε, which is identified by the words, ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς (i.e., κύριος ὁ Ἰησοῦς). This cannot, however,

A formula of another kind is found in the course of Peter's sermon in the house of Cornelius (10.42),

> [ὁ θεὸς] παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν κηρῦξαι τῷ λαῷ
> καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι
> ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων
> καὶ νεκρῶν.

It has been argued that the final clause implies a "Son of man" eschatology, and that the formula is essentially a representative of the statement οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.[1] This interpretation seems to be supported by 17.31, where Paul tells the Athenians that it is God's purpose

> κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
> ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν.

Thus, while the Pauline *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς and the "Son of man" thought and terminology of the synoptic gospels are both reflected, it is the *homologia* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός that finds clearest expression in the book of Acts. The manner in which it is introduced, with the ὅτι *recitativum* (9.20, 22; 17.13) or the infinitive of indirect discourse (18.5, 28), indicates that a formula is being introduced. It is significant that in every instance where the *homologia* is found it is expressed within a Jewish setting. This at once suggests the primitiveness of the confession and of the sources being utilized, as well as the verisimilitude of the account as a whole.

Besides the simple Christological formulas, there is evidence in Acts for the existence of a dual formula in which the death and resurrection of Jesus are expressed, not unlike the forms found in the letters of Paul.[2] The formulary character is indicated by the relative clauses, the ὅτι *recitativum*, and the parallelism in which the statements are expressed. Perhaps the clearest example in Acts is

be adduced as evidence for such a *homologia* in view of the fact that the vocative κύριε is probably the familiar form of polite address, "Sir!"

[1] See Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 122, who argue that "the Man" of the apocalypses, when expressed as υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, would be unintelligible to a Hellenistic audience; the phrase was either interpreted in a manner remote from its original meaning (as in John) or substituted by other phrases descriptive of the function of the Son of man but more intelligible; "judge of the living and the dead" was one of these (cf. I Pet. 4.5; II Tim. 4.1; Barn. 7.2; II Clem. 1.1; Poly. 2.1; and the Apostles' Creed).

[2] *Supra*, pp. 45-49.

found at 4.10, where, in addressing the rulers, elders, and scribes concerning the healing of the lame man, Peter says,

ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου
ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε
ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν.[1]

There is a dual contrast in the two clauses, first between σταυροῦν and ἐγείρειν, and also between ὑμεῖς and ὁ θεός.

These two pairs of antitheses are found elsewhere in the first half of the Acts, with, however, some variation of vocabulary. The following may be noted:

Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον . . . τοῦτον . . . ἀνείλατε
ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν (2.22-24).
καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός,
τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε (2.36).
τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε,
ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν (3.15).
ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἤγειρεν Ἰησοῦν,
ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε . . .
τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσεν (5.30-31).[2]

The dual formula is also found in 10.39-40, where, in view of the fact that Peter is addressing the household of Cornelius, that is, Romans rather than Jews, the second person plural is replaced by the third person plural:

ὃν καὶ ἀνεῖλαν
τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν.[3]

The twofold emphasis is found with a slightly different nuance in 17.2-3, already quoted in connection with the simple formula, "Jesus is the Christ":

ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν
καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν.

[1] Haenchen (*op. cit.*, p. 181, n. 2) points out that the ὅτι suggests the form of an old Christian *kerygma*, and that the relative pronouns are indicative of cultic (Semitic) style. E. Preuschen (*Die Apostelgeschichte erklärt* [Tübingen, 1912], p. 23) finds here roots of the future symbol.

[2] The contrast here seems to be between διεχειρίσασθε and ὕψωσεν, while ἤγειρεν probably refers to the beginning of Jesus' ministry; cf. Acts 7.37; Jud. 3.9.

[3] E. Stauffer (*op. cit.*, p. 245) thinks that the formulation of these Christological statements has antecedents in what he calls the "Joseph tradition."

The same thought is expressed in Paul's defense before King Agrippa (26.23):

εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός,
εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.

Here the εἰ may be taken as ὅτι, *that*,[1] although it has the stronger implication that what follows is being denied and needs to be argued.[2]

The double formula, therefore, remains essentially unchanged, whether found in the speeches of Peter or in the defense of Paul—Christ suffered and was raised from the dead. A difference exists, as Stauffer has indicated,[3] in that the early speeches display a strong missionary and polemical emphasis in the use of the second person plural, but which later become impersonal and historical (e.g. in Acts 10.39). The first clause refers to the death, suffering, or crucifixion of Jesus, and the second to his being raised from the dead, usually by God. The similarity of these formulas to those found in the letters of Paul is significant, and it is certain that they come from a very early tradition.

From the foregoing it is clear that the basic *homologia* in the book of Acts is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. Since the naming of Jesus as κύριος [4] or as υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ [5] occurs only in a secondary way in Acts,

The double *schema* of man's will to destruction and God's work of deliverance, as shown in the Joseph story, recurs in the early part of Acts (the Petrine speeches) as the Jews' work of crucifying Jesus and God's work of raising him from the dead. This view is possible, but, with the exception of Stephen's speech (7.9-10), there are no specific references to the Joseph tradition. It is easier to see how the two ideas arose as a result of explaining two very difficult problems in the life of the early church—why the messiah should suffer and how he could rise from the dead.

[1] On this use of εἰ, see H. J. Cadbury, "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts," *JBL*, 48 (1929), pp. 421 f.

[2] R. Harris (*Testimonies* [Cambridge, 1916-1920], vol. 1, pp. 19 f., vol. 2, p. 77) states that εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός represents a recognized subject for debate with Jews, and translates it in the form of a question.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

[4] See the references above, pp. 118-119. Significantly, the phrase εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν (11.20) is used in a Hellenistic context and not a Jewish (when χριστός is used). A. Seeberg (*Katechismus*, pp. 184-186) gives considerable attention to κύριος in the book of Acts (e.g. 2.36; 5.14; 9.42; 10.36; 16.15; etc.), suggesting that the use of κύριος must be understood upon the background of the confession of Jesus as Lord at baptism. This, as even Seeberg admits, is a conjecture which cannot be proved by the literature.

[5] Acts 9.20, as already has been suggested, is to be taken as an expression of the χριστός-*homologia*. The confession in 8.37 (*v.l.*), πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ

attention will be limited in what follows to a consideration of the place of the χριστός and bipartite formulas in the life of the early church.

When one considers the context in which both the *homologia* and the bipartite formula occur, it is apparent that in almost every instance they are expressed in a Jewish milieu. This is, of course, what one might have expected, since the question of messiahship would have interest primarily to a Jewish audience. Nevertheless, this circumstance is of further significance in Acts. For one thing, it shows that the author is using early sources and/or is accurately giving the story of the primitive church. Moreover it suggests that Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός is probably the earliest form of the *homologia*, having significance from the very beginning of the Jerusalem church. It is not surprising, then, that the early speeches in Acts are at times polemical in emphasis, particularly when Peter accuses and condemns the Jews for their part in the crucifixion of Jesus. The double formulas involving the second person plural occur in these passages.[1] While the *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, is not explicitly mentioned in these contexts, the contrast that is expressed between ἀπεκτείνατε and ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν suggests a relationship to the *homologia* in the respect that an attempt was made to show how this double event proves Jesus to be the Christ. The polemic is thus similar to the general tenor of the gospels, where the Jews are blamed for the death of Jesus.

It is also apparent that in some instances the polemical interest gives way to the kerygmatic; even the accusations brought against the Jews, in one instance at least, are intended to provoke repentance (cf. 2.37 f.).[2] The presence of the *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, in the early Christian proclamation is revealed by its association with διδάσκειν καὶ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (5.42), κηρύσσειν (9.20-22), καταγγέλλειν (17.3), and διαμαρτυρεῖν (18.5). The *homologia* thus represented the basic message proclaimed by the early church to a Jewish audience, although, as we shall see, the content of the *kerygma* was necessarily expanded in explaining and proving

θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, important as it is, is probably a baptismal formula of a later generation; cf. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Wilder, *IB*, vol. 12, p. 274.

[1] Acts 2.23, 36; 3.15; 4.10; 5.30.

[2] Haenchen (*op. cit.*, p. 151, n. 3) states that 2.36 is not anti-Judaistic; the emphasis upon the Jews' part in the crucifixion is to create guilt and hence repentance.

from the Scriptures just what the term ὁ χριστός meant when Jesus was so designated.

There is evidence in Acts that on at least one occasion the confession of Jesus as Christ had importance in the setting of persecution. The incident occurred in Thessalonica when Paul proclaimed ὅτι οὗτός [Ἰησοῦς] ἐστιν ὁ χριστός (17.3). In the ensuing riot caused by hostile Jews, certain Jewish-Christians were brought before the city officials and the charge was made against Paul and his party:

> οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσιν, βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν (17.7).

The implication of the charge is that the acknowledgement of Jesus as the Christ (χριστός, v. 3; βασιλεύς, v. 7) represented the rejection of Caesar as emperor (βασιλεύς). The scene thus suggests a situation in which Christians were compelled to choose between Christ and Caesar.[1] This function of the *homologia*, however, is not important in the book of Acts.

According to the book of Acts another life situation in which the *homologia* had significance was the practice of exorcism. Thus, Peter declares to the Jewish authorities, "that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth [*cf.* 3.6], whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, in him (ἐν τούτῳ) this man stands before you whole" (4.10). Exorcism in the name of Jesus or while calling on the name of Jesus was practiced by the early church,[2] where the name expressed the power and authority to overcome the evil spirits. While the *homologia* itself is not expressed here, the bipartite formula is, and it is probable that, on the occasion of the healing, the name "Jesus Christ" indicated the authority of Jesus by virtue of his being the Christ.

According to the book of Acts the *homologia* had a prominent place in the apologetics of the primitive church vis-a-vis Judaism. While the polemical emphasis of the speeches in the early part of Acts was directed against the part which the Jews had in the crucifixion, the apologetic discussions were intended to convince the Jews of the Christian viewpoint and, as in the *kerygma*, to win them to a like faith. In Damascus Paul proclaimed Jesus as the Son

[1] Cf. I Cor. 12.3; I Jn. 4.2-3; Mar. Poly. 8.2. Cullmann (*op. cit.*, p. 30) cites Acts 17.7 in support of his argument that the early Christian confession was used in time of persecution.

[2] Cf. Mk. 9.38; 16.17; Lk. 9.49; 10.17. Cullmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 23-25) argues that the early Christian confession was used in exorcism.

of God (9.20) and stirred up (συνέχυννεν) the Jews, proving or demonstrating (συμβιβάζων) that Jesus was the Christ (v. 22). Likewise one finds the verbs *to argue* or *discuss* (διαλέγεσθαι), *to explain* (διανοίγειν) and *demonstrate* (παρατιθέναι) in 17.2-3, *to confute publically* (διακατελέγχεσθαι δημοσίᾳ) in 18.28, and *to defend* (ἀπολόγεσθαι) in 26.23, 24. All these examples strongly suggest an *apologia* of the Christian faith before Jews in the attempt to win members of the synagogue to the Christian church.

C. CONCLUSION

The basic *homologia* preserved in the synoptic gospels and Acts is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, although the Christology current in the church at the time of writing may have been more advanced.[1] Thus the evangelists and the historian faithfully relate the *Sitz im Leben* of Jesus and of the primitive church, in which the messianic question was most crucial.

The synoptic gospels reveal that the χριστός-title at first indicated, to those who used it of Jesus, that he was the anointed one of God who had come as king to deliver Israel from her enemies; χριστός was *messiah* with its several Jewish connotations. Therefore the *homologia* in its origin during the life of Jesus expressed a relatively narrow belief as regards the person of Jesus. The import, however, of Peter's confession and the belief of Jesus' followers need not be minimized; emphasis should rather be given to the circumstance that Jesus' followers recognized in him a remarkable and unique person, and, having put their trust and hope in the Jesus whom they knew, they ascribed to him the most exalted and significant title at their disposal, namely ὁ χριστός.

It is plain from both the synoptic gospels and the book of Acts that the χριστός-title was expanded in content to give expression primarily to the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus. This is seen most explicitly in Jesus' "interpretation" of χριστός in terms of the suffering and dying Son of man. Luke-Acts also gives ample witness to the view that according to the Scriptures Christ had to suffer and be raised from the dead and that therefore Jesus was the Christ. The dual formula expressing the death and the resurrection

[1] E.g. the *homologia* which expresses Mark's Christology is Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. On the other hand, Luke's frequent use of κύριος in the gospel (cf. also Acts 2.36; 10.36; 11.20) may suggest that κύριος Ἰησοῦς underlies his writings.

of Jesus, if not synonymous with the *homologia*, may be considered as a supplement clarifying the concept of ὁ χριστός—for to confess Jesus as the Christ meant to acclaim the one who suffered death and who also experienced resurrection.

According to the synoptic gospels and the book of Acts the *homologia* was used variously in the life of the early church. In its origin Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός was an expression of personal faith, and it continued, no doubt, to have this function. But the succinct declaration of faith was also appropriate in other life situations. Perhaps it was used in exorcisms, at baptism, or in times of persecution. The last-mentioned situation receives considerable emphasis in Jesus' acknowledgement of his own person before the high priest and before Pilate, an example which became even more significant for Christians during the later persecution of the church.

The most prominent function of the *homologia* in the early church was in its contact with Judaism. Though various motives are intermingled, there were three main purposes. The *homologia* and its explanatory bipartite form were used polemically against Jewish adversaries because of their part in crucifying Jesus, kerygmatically to present the gospel in the synagogue, and apologetically to defend the Christian belief in a crucified and risen Christ. In short, the confession Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός is the earliest form of the primitive Christian *homologia*, a form that was significant for the early church in its relationship to Judaism.

CHAPTER VII

THE *HOMOLOGIA* IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

This chapter will investigate the remaining books of the New Testament in which there is evidence relating to the primitive Christian *homologia*. These include the two letters to Timothy and the one to Titus, the letter to the Hebrews, and the first letter of Peter. The other writings of the New Testament, namely, James, II Peter, Jude, and Revelation, will not be considered, since they do not contain material relevant to the present study.[1]

A. THE PASTORAL LETTERS

The letters to Timothy and to Titus, traditionally attributed to the hand of Paul,[2] present many problems to the investigator of the primitive *homologia*. It may be stated at the outset that in these writings the primitive Christian *homologia* is not explicitly given, nor do they contain Christological formulas such as occur in the synoptic gospels and Acts. Even an examination of the basic Christology underlying these three letters fails to suggest the *homologia*.

The complexity of the problem is increased by the circumstance that the writer of these letters utilized several sources of older

[1] One may note a few isolated references: II Pet. 2.1, of false teachers, καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι, and Jude 4, καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι (in both examples the antonym to ὁμολογεῖν is used in reference to false teaching). In Revelation there is a strong emphasis upon steadfastness and patience in suffering; the vocabulary, which includes such words as ἀρνεῖσθαι (2.13), μάρτυς (1.5; 2.13; 17.6), ὁμολογεῖν (3.5), suggests a setting of persecution in which adherence to the faith was necessary; but the place of the *homologia* in this setting is neither expressed nor implied.

[2] The Pauline authorship is defended by R. St. John Parry (*The Pastoral Epistles* [Cambridge, 1920]), W. Lock (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* [New York, 1924]), J. Jeremias (*Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus* [Göttingen, 1949]), and C. Spicq (*St. Paul: les Epitres Pastorales* [Paris, 1947]). Pauline authorship is denied by M. Dibelius (*Die Pastoralbriefe* [3rd ed., Tübingen, 1955]) and B. S. Easton (*The Pastoral Epistles* [New York, 1947]), while the "fragmentary" theory is supported by P. N. Harrison (*The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* [London, 1921]) and E. F. Scott (*The Pastoral Epistles* [New York, 1936]).

tradition, such as sayings, doctrines, and hymns.[1] If Paul is not the author, the problem is further complicated by the attempt of the writer to represent the mind of Paul, in the course of which many different concepts are introduced. In short, the Christology of the letters appears to be that of a compiler rather than of a single creative writer. The incorporation of this earlier tradition is illustrated by certain terms in the vocabulary of the letters, as, for example, διδασκαλία, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, πίστις, and παραθήκη,[2] as well as by the credal, liturgical, or confessional material that is clearly discernable in the letters.[3]

There are several references in these letters, however, which may have some relationship to the *homologia*, and which are suggested primarily by the vocabulary that is used. These instances, as well as a few others, will be examined with the hope of determining both the nature of the *homologia* and its place in the primitive church.

In II Tim. 2.8 a primitive formula is used, the Christology of which stands alone in the Pastorals. Here the writer states,

μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν
ἐγηγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν,
ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ,
κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.

The similarity of the emphasized lines above to the bipartite formulas in the letters of Paul[4] and in Acts[5] is apparent, and the formula certainly is derived from or reflects a primitive tradition (the dual thought of Jesus' Davidic origin and resurrection is particularly reminiscent of Rom. 1.3-4).[6] The name Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, as well as the ideas of being born of David's seed and being raised from the dead,[7] may well suggest that the *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς

[1] H. Windisch ("Zur Christologie der Pastoralbriefe," *ZNW*, 34 [1935], p. 238) suggests that the letters incorporate poems, formulas, and hymns (*Sprüchen, Formeln, Hymnen*); similarly Spicq (*op. cit.*, p. clix) mentions confessions of faith, baptismal professions, and liturgical hymns.

[2] For a discussion of these terms, see Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. xci-cx.

[3] I Tim. 1.15; 2.5-6; 3.16; 6.15-16; II Tim. 2.8, 11-13; 4.1; Tit. 2. 13-14; 3.4-7.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 45-49.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 120-122.

[6] B. S. Easton (*op. cit.*, p. 53) declares, "The Pastor has simply condensed Romans 1.1-4."

[7] Windisch (*op. cit.*, pp. 215-216) finds that the formula in II Tim. 2.8 represents the two ἀρχαί, the beginnings of Christ's two modes of existence; (1) the man born of David's seed, the Man-Messiah who was born and

ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, lies at the basis of the formula; yet one cannot be certain.

The two-article formula found in I Tim. 2.5 is of no little interest:

> εἷς γὰρ θεός,
> εἷς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,
> ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς,
> ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων
> τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις.

The reference to εἷς θεός — εἷς μεσίτης is reminiscent of the form found in the letters of Paul,[1] but with the important difference that κύριος is not used. Although the double affirmation referring to God and to Mediator is not likely to be related to the *homologia*,[2] the identification of the Mediator as ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς may well be.[3]

In I Tim. 3.16 the adverbial form ὁμολογουμένως is found in close proximity to a piece of early tradition:

> καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον·
> ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
> ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
> ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
> ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
> ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
> ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.[4]

The adverb suggests that the hymn, creed, or liturgy quoted here is perhaps related to the *homologia*. It has been translated "confessedly" or "admittedly," [5] "we confess that," [6] or even "according

appeared according to Old Testament prophecy, and (2) the Man who was raised to divine honors.

[1] εἷς θεός — εἷς κύριος (I Cor. 8.6; Eph. 4.5, 6); cf. Gal. 3.20, ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 44-45. The two-article formula arose early in the history of the church, although probably not so early as the Christological formulas and the *homologia*; see H. Lietzmann, *ZNW*, 22 (1923), pp. 268 ff.; Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

[3] For a discussion of Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, see below p. 132.

[4] For recent full-length discussions of this verse, see O. R. Wilson, *A Study of the Early Christian Credal Hymn of I Timothy* 3.16 (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Ky., 1954), and H. A. Blair, *A Creed Before the Creeds* (London, 1955).

[5] Cf. IV Mac. 6.31; 7.16; Jos. *Ant.* 1.180; 2.229; Diog. 5.4.

[6] Cf. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς (D* sy^{pal}), a reading accepted by F. J. Babcock (*The Pauline Epistles* [London, 1937], p. 126, footnote); the translation "we

to the *homologia.*" [1] But even if it be granted that the adverb contains a reference to the *homologia,* the nature and content of the confession remain extremely hypothetical.[2] The structure of the pericope has been analyzed variously by scholars,[3] and though it may be an expansion of the primitive *homologia,*[4] such a possibility is highly conjectural. Thus it is wisest to set this passage aside as inadequate evidence for the present investigation.

Perhaps the most important passage in the Pastorals that is related to the *homologia* is I Tim. 6.12-13, where the writer declares that Timothy confessed the good confession before many witnesses (καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων) and refers to Christ Jesus as the one who testified the good confession before Pontius Pilate (καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν). The problem is to determine what ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία was both for Timothy and for Christ Jesus, and to discover its content. It will be helpful to begin with Jesus' confession, since this is clearly expressed in the gospel records, and then to consider Timothy's situation.

Taken in its simplest and most obvious meaning, the passage refers to the occasion when, according to Mark, Jesus in effect acknowledged before Pontius Pilate that he was the Christ.[5] When

confess" is advocated by Blair (*op. cit.*, pp. 9-10) and F. D. Gealy (*IB*, vol. 11, p. 421).

[1] This translation was suggested to H. A. Blair by C. T. Dimont (Blair, *op. cit.*, p. vii).

[2] Spicq (*op. cit.*, p. 107) suggests that the confession, "great is the mystery of our religion," is contrasted with the confession, "great is Artemis of the Ephesians" (cf. Acts 19.28, 34).

[3] Lock (*op. cit.*, p. 45) arranges it in two stanzas, each with three lines, the first referring to the life of the incarnate and the second to the life of the ascended Lord. Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 42) also suggests two stanzas, each consisting of two lines with a third added as a refrain; the first tells of Christ's life on earth, the second of his larger life in the church, and each closes on a note of triumph. But perhaps the arrangement in three strophes is best, where (according to Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 50) there are expressed the three antitheses, σάρξ-πνεῦμα, ἄγγελοι-ἔθνη (inverted order), and κόσμος-δόξα, or where (according to Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 21) there is the chiastic arrangement, earthly-heavenly, heavenly-earthly, and earthly-heavenly.

[4] Blair (*op. cit.*, p. 79), e.g., suggests that it expresses the confession "Jesus Christ is Lord," and he translates (p. 106),

> "Great is the Mystery of godliness —
> Jesus — manifested in flesh, justified in spirit,
> Christ — seen of angels, proclaimed among nations,
> Lord — believed on in creation, received up in glory."

[5] Mk. 15.2, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; . . . σὺ λέγεις, *supra* pp. 113-114.

he stood on trial before the Roman authorities, Jesus did not fail to confess his identity; in this sense, he "testified the good confession." Although other interpretations have been offered, it is best to understand the passage in its simplest way: ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία is, "I am the Christ." [1]

From the setting of trial and persecution in which Jesus made his confession before Pilate, some scholars have argued that a similar situation is presupposed by Timothy's "good confession before many witnesses." [2] If the parallel drawn between Timothy and Jesus has reference to the life situation of each, it is entirely possible that Timothy at one time or another was compelled to confess his faith before a hostile audience. On the other hand, one may argue that the content presupposed by ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία is the same in each case,[3] and that Timothy may have confessed faith in Christ at his baptism [4] or his ordination.[5] In either case, Jesus' confession is to serve as the pattern for Timothy in his expression of the *homologia* and in his steadfastness in time of difficulty. Even though this difficulty may not have been a judicial trial,[6] at least it involved him in the continuing conflict which existed between Christianity and the surrounding culture.[7]

An examination of the titles applied to Jesus in the Pastoral

[1] That the reference here is to the confession before the authorities is supported by G. Baldensperger ("Il a rendu témoignage devant Ponce-Pilate," *RHPR*, 2 [1922], pp. 1-25 and 95-117) and Cullmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 25-26). C. H. Turner ("I Tim. 6.12, 13: ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου," *JTS*, 28 [1927], pp. 270-273), however, considers this to be the primitive nucleus of the Creed, and paraphrases: "I charge thee before God the Creator and Christ Jesus the Martyr and Confessor under Pontius Pilate" (*ibid.*, p. 270). In a similar way, Kelly (*op. cit.*, p. 20) argues that the clause means "who suffered under Pontius Pilate." Although it is true that μαρτυρεῖν in some instances means "suffer" (cf. I Clem. 5.4; 5.7) and ὁμολογία later means "martyrdom" (cf. Mar. Poly. 4), it is difficult to show that this is the force of the words intended here.

[2] Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, p. 99, and Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

[3] So Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 219, and Spicq, *op. cit.*, p. clx; Easton (*op. cit.*, p. 166) says Timothy's confession was, "Jesus is Lord."

[4] Kattenbusch, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 343, n. 12; Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 219; Easton, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166; Spicq, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[5] Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Käsemann, *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 261-268.

[6] Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, maintains that it was a judicial trial.

[7] Spicq (*op. cit.*, p. clx), "In the course of his life and in spite of the persecutions or pressures [*sollicitations*] of the imperial cult, the neophyte had to guard intact the ἐντολή (6.14)."

letters provides some slight illumination regarding the content of the *homologia*. The Pastorals reveal, for example, that κύριος is used quite frequently, but not often with Ἰησοῦς specifically.[1] Most often ὁ κύριος stands alone [2] and may refer to either Jesus or God. While the designation of Jesus as Lord is doubtless presupposed throughout the Pastorals, this form of the *homologia* is nowhere explicitly stated.

The title σωτήρ [3] is characteristic of these letters, being used of both God [4] and of Jesus.[5] When used of Jesus it is always found with ἡμῶν and Χριστός in the form ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.[6] It is possible that the title reflects Hellenistic usage, although the messianic overtones should not be discounted. Whatever the precise orientation of this terminology may be, the relationship of σωτήρ to the *homologia* remains uncertain.

Of all Christological titles and names, Χριστός appears most frequently in the Pastorals and, with one exception,[7] always with Ἰησους as part of the double name. Of significance in this usage is the fact that usually the word order is Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς [8] rather than Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.[9] This may be attributed to the personal preference of the writer, but it is also possible that it represents the primitive *homologia* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.[10] If the latter possibility proves to be true, then this interpretation, together with the "good

[1] Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν (I Tim. 1.2, 12; II Tim. 1.2), and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (I Tim. 6.3, 14).

[2] Approximately sixteen times; in addition, two instances are found in quotations from the Old Testament (II Tim. 2.19).

[3] For its use in the Johannine literature, see above, pp. 74-76.

[4] I Tim. 1.1; 2.3; 4.10; Tit. 1.3; 2.10; 3.4.

[5] II Tim. 1.10; Tit. 1.4; 2.13; 3.6.

[6] II Tim. 1.10; Tit. 2.13; Tit. 1.4 has Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν; Tit. 3.6, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.

[7] I Tim. 5.11.

[8] Some twenty-six occurrences, including a few variant readings.

[9] Five occurrences including the *v.l.* in Tit. 1.1; significantly, two of these exactly reproduce the Pauline phrase "Jesus Christ our Lord."

[10] In the form Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς the predicate stands first; cf. κύριος Ἰησοῦς (Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11). Kattenbusch (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 491) states that in the Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς of the old Roman creed (c. A.D. 100) "Christ" is not yet simply a surname, but contains the idea of "messiah"; later (*ibid.*, p. 541) he says of the form, "Das Symbol lässt den Täufling sich zu bekennen, dass 'Jesus' der 'Messias' sei." McCasland (*JBL*, 65 [1946], p. 382), in his study of Paul's use of Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, suggests that this order of the names reflects a usage where Χριστός is still appellative and has not yet become a proper name.

confession" of Jesus before Pilate (I Tim. 6.13),[1] indicates that the *homologia* acknowledging Jesus as the Messiah is represented in and may be considered basic to these epistles.

Because of the uncertainity of identifying the *homologia*, it is difficult to state with any degree of precision what the life situation was in which it was used. The bipartite formula in II Tim. 2.8 ("Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, descended from David") is clearly related to the kerygmatic activity of the church; [2] if this formula represents the early *homologia*, then one of its functions is apparent. A similar uncertainty exists as regards Seeberg's suggestion that baptism was the life situation presupposed in I Tim. 6.12 and II Tim. 2.2.[3]

Perhaps the clearest reference to a specific life situation is I Tim. 6.13, where, as has been noted, the "good confession" of Jesus strongly suggests a setting of persecution. Even if the confession of Timothy before many witnesses is not a reference to judicial action, the context of this statement,[4] as well as the general character of the letters, indicates the need for steadfastness and faithfulness in moments of trial and testing.[5] The demeanor of Jesus during his trial is the pattern for Timothy as he "fights the good fight of faith" (I Tim. 6.12).

B. THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

This letter has relevance for the present investigation primarily because the word ὁμολογία [6] is used three times in highly significant contexts (3.1; 4.14; 10.23). A study of these examples should

[1] The bipartite formula referring to the Davidic descent and to the resurrection (II Tim. 2.8) may also be cited at this point.

[2] Κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου; cf. Rom. 1.3-4, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; I Cor. 15.1-5, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν. See Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

[3] A. Seeberg (*op. cit.*, p. 186) states that at his baptism Timothy heard the words of the formula of faith (*Glaubensformel*) spoken by Paul before the assembled community; by his response he accepted them, and in this way he confessed the good confession. Baptism is also suggested as the situation in I Tim. 6.12 by Windisch (*op. cit.*, p. 219), Dibelius (*op. cit.*, p. 67), Easton (*op. cit.*, pp. 165-166), Spicq (*op. cit.*, p. 196), *et al.*

[4] Ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως (6.12; cf. II Tim. 4.7); τηρῆσαί σε τὴν ἐντολή (6.14).

[5] E.g. μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῇς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (II Tim. 1.8); εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς (II Tim. 2.12); καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ θέλοντες ζῆν εὐσεβῶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διωχθήσονται (II Tim. 3.12); θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται (Tit. 1.16).

[6] The verb ὁμολογεῖν is found in 11.13 and 13.15 (ὁμολογεῖν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ), but apparently not with direct relationship to the *homologia*.

provide a better understanding of the nature of the *homologia* according to the *auctor ad Hebraeos*. Furthermore, if it is possible to discover the content of the *homologia* and its place in the life of the early church, additional information will have been gained for the general understanding of early Christian *homologiai*.

The word ὁμολογία appears in the following passages:[1]

> κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας
> ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν (3.1).
> ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς,
> Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,
> κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας (4.14).
> κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος [2] ἐκλινῆ (10.23).

The verbs κρατεῖν and κατέχειν in 4.14 and 10.23 respectively support the conclusion that ὁμολογία refers to a specific formula or confession of faith known to the author and his readers.[3] Understanding the noun in this objective sense is more difficult at 3.1,[4] but even here it is best to interpret it as a confession in which Jesus is mentioned. The words "apostle" and "high priest" are not part of the content of the *homologia*,[5] but refer to offices mentioned in the author's comparison between Jesus and Moses: "consider Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our *homologia*, as contrasted with Moses and Aaron of the old covenant." [6] In each of the three references, ὁμολογία is a confession of faith, the form and content of which was known to the readers of the epistle.[7]

[1] For studies of the word ὁμολογία in this epistle, see E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* (Göttingen, 1939), pp. 105-110, and G. Bornkamm, "Das Bekenntnis im Hebräerbrief," *ThBl*, 21 (1942), pp. 56-66.

[2] ℵ* *f* vg sy^{p} add ἡμῶν.

[3] Most commentators take this position; cf. B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (2nd. ed., 1892; reprinted, Grand Rapids, 1955), p. 74; A. Seeberg, *Katechismus*, p. 143; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Göttingen, 1949), p. 95; H. Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief* (Tübingen, 1931), p. 29.

[4] H. Strathmann (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [Göttingen, 1949], p. 85) says that the word "meint schwerlich eine feste Formel. Eine christliche Bekenntnisformel, die von Jesus als Hohempriester geredet hätte, hat es nie gegeben." So too R. Gyllenberg, "Die Christologie des Hebräerbriefes," *ZST*, 11 (1933/34), p. 673.

[5] So Strathmann, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Seeberg (*op. cit.*, p. 145), however, says that the confession in 3.1 was of Jesus as Apostle and High Priest.

[6] Westcott (*op. cit.*, p. 74) considers "apostle" and "high priest" as descriptive of the functions of Moses and Aaron.

[7] Käsemann (*op. cit.*, pp. 107-108), however, prefers to consider the noun as a reference to the early Christian community liturgy; agreeing in part

If ὁμολογία refers to a fixed formula of some kind, as appears to be probable, the question arises as to what the *homologia* was. The only passage which provides clear information is 4.14. Here the phrase Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ occurs in close connection with ὁμολογία, and it may well be an echo of the *homologia* [1] (cf. how frequently the statement Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ appears in the Johannine literature; see above, pp. 70; 73 ff.).

The Christology of the letters to the Hebrews lends further support to the conclusion that the confession was of Jesus as Son of God. Although several other titles are used of Jesus, the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ appears to characterize most adequately the writer's concept of the person of Jesus. Χριστός is found twelve times (alone nine times; with Jesus, three), but apparently only as a name, and the messianic connotations of the title and of the primitive *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, are not present.[2] The use of κύριος in the letter is only marginal, being applied to Jesus in but three clear instances,[3] and then more as a name than as a title. The title ἀρχιερεύς is important in the argument of the writer and is used some ten times of Jesus, but it forms only a part of his Christology and does not constitute the basic *homologia*. Moreover, in 4.14 the title "Son of God" is given as the identification of ἀρχιερεύς (cf. 7.3, 28). Throughout the letter the designation of Son is given to Jesus twelve times.[4] It embraces the concepts of the Logos, the High Priest, and the incarnate Christ. The sonship of Christ expresses his unique functions [5] as mediator and sacrifice

are Michel (*op. cit.*, p. 95) and Bornkamm (*op. cit.*, p. 63). Käsemann thinks, therefore, that the call to hold fast to the *homologia* is a call *zur Nachfolge Christi* (p. 110). E. F. Scott (*The Epistle to the Hebrews* [Edinburgh, 1922], p. 76), on the other hand, claims that the ὁμολογία implies that a fixed body of doctrine and practice was in existence on which there was basic agreement.

[1] So A. Seeberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.; Bornkamm, *op. cit.*, p. 63; O. Cullmann, *Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen, 1957), p. 298.

[2] V. Taylor (*The Person of Christ* [London, 1958], p. 92) believes that the primitive Christian messianic belief recedes to the background, appearing only in the writer's expectation of the Parousia.

[3] 2.3; 7.14; 13.20; elsewhere in the letter it is used once of God (8.2), once in reference to either Jesus or God (12.14), and eleven times in Old Testament quotations.

[4] Three of these involve Old Testament quotations (1.5, twice; 2.5); in four instances the full title Son of God is used (4.14; 6.6; 7.3; 10.29).

[5] Taylor (*The Person of Christ*, pp. 93-98) summarizes the three functions of the Son as (1) the representative ministry of Christ, (2) the relationship of Christ to the universe, and (3) the relationship of Christ to God.

between God and man, as the agent in creation, and as the transcendent Son of God.

It is also important to observe that there is a strong emphasis in the letter upon the historical Jesus. The name Ἰησοῦς itself is used thirteen times, of which nine stand alone. The perfect humanity and sinlessness of Jesus, his suffering and endurance, are essential to his total mission and to the writer's concern for the stability and faithfulness of his readers.

If Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the *homologia* used in Hebrews (certainty on this point seems to be unattainable), the concept of Sonship which is expressed thereby is greater and broader in scope than that found in the synoptic gospels and Acts and approaches the thought expressed in the gospel and letters of John. Moreover, the emphasis upon Ἰησοῦς and the human life which that name represents is also reminiscent of John's thought. Perhaps A. E. J. Rawlinson's observation is correct, that "the writer of Hebrews may be regarded as having anticipated, or perhaps actually influenced, the theology of the Fourth Gospel." [1]

The *homologia* seems to have a different function in Hebrews from that found in other parts of the New Testament. In this document it is not the expression or the acknowledgment of the *homologia* that is important, but rather the adherence to the *homologia* already known or expressed. The readers are *to consider* (κατανοήσατε, 3.1), *to cling to* (κρατῶμεν, 4.14), or *to hold fast to* (κατέχωμεν, 10.23) the *homologia*, whereas verbs referring to "believing," "confessing," or "acknowledging" the *homologia* do not occur. Therefore, in speaking of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *homologia* in Hebrews, we are not concerned with the original situation in which it was expressed (for example, at baptism [2] or in worship [3]), but its place in the immediate concern of the author of the letter.

The verbs which introduce ὁμολογία, particularly κρατεῖν and κατέχειν, as well as the general argument of the letter, indicate that the *homologia* has the function of promoting or preserving faith-

[1] *The New Testament Doctrine of Christ* (London, 1926), p. 189.

[2] This function of the *homologia* is suggested by several commentators; see Seeberg(*op. cit.*, p. 143); Westcott on 10.23 (*op. cit.*, p. 323); Bornkamm (*op. cit.*, p. 63).

[3] The liturgical setting of the *homologia* is strongly argued by Käsemann (*op. cit.*, pp. 105-110). Michel (*op. cit.*, p. 95) states that ὁμολογία in part is a liturgically-formed community confession linked to baptism.

fulness in a time of difficuly and persecution.[1] Christian readers are called upon to cling to their faith as expressed in the *homologia*, which they once accepted and have openly declared. On the other hand, the apostate is the one who crucifies afresh the Son of God (6.6) rather than holding fast to him in the Christian confession.

Thus, though the *homologia* is assumed by the author to have had an important place in the lives of his readers, his immediate concern is with its continuing value in the trials of the Christian community. The *homologia* expresses the essential faith of the church, that core in which author and reader are joined. Whether or not the steadfastness which the writer admonishes his readers to maintain included the open acknowledgment of faith before a hostile audience cannot be decided upon the basis of the letter, but it need not be excluded.[2]

C. THE FIRST LETTER OF PETER

This letter is of especial interest in the present investigation because many scholars have found in it primitive tradition of a credal, liturgical, or catechetical nature.[3] Some of this material certainly reflects an early tradition and must be examined for possible relationship with the *homologia*.

Although there are no clear expressions of a *homologia* itself in the letter, several statements of a formulary character are significant enough for consideration. There is first of all the double formula referring to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ
ζωοποιθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι (3.18).[4]

[1] Westcott (*op. cit.*, p. 106) distinguishes between κρατεῖν and κατέχειν, but concludes that both "imply danger and incite to effort."

[2] Westcott states (*op. cit.*, p. 106), "The writer everywhere insists on the duty of the public confession of the faith. The crisis claimed not simply private conviction but a clear declaration of belief openly in the face of men."

[3] The most thorough study is E. G. Selwyn's essay in *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London, 1955), pp. 363-466; he builds upon the earlier work of A. Seeberg (*Katechismus*) and P. Carrington (*The Primitive Christian Catechism*). See also R. Bultmann, "Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petersbrief," *ConNeo*, 11 (1947), pp. 1-14; F. L. Cross, *I Peter, A Paschal Liturgy* (London, 1954); B. Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of I Peter* 3.19 *and its Content* (Copenhagen, 1946); E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief," *ZNW*, 45 (1954), pp. 68-89. For a brief summary, see A. M. Hunter in *IB*, vol. 12, pp. 81-83.

[4] Cf. 4.6 where the double reference to death and life is applied to the Christian. Note the similarity of the aorist passive forms to I Tim. 3.6.

Not only is death contrasted to life, but flesh is contrasted to spirit. Primitive formulas seem to be expressed also in the following instances:

θεὸς ὁ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν (1.21).
ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (2.21).
ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν (3.18).
ὅς [Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ (3.22).

Two observations grow out of these formulas and the thought of the letter as a whole. First, the basic *schema* expressed by the bipartite formula (3.18), namely the death and resurrection of Jesus, so characteristic of the primitive *kerygma* and *homologia* found in Acts and in the letters of Paul,[1] is expressed frequently in separate formulas in I Peter, which refer either to the suffering and/or death of Christ,[2] or to his resurrection.[3] The nature of these formulas and statements implies that the letter incorporates material which originated at the very beginning of the history of the Christian community.

The second observation is that these formulas and the theology of the epistle as a whole suggest that if any *homologia* can be said to underlie the letter at all, it is "Jesus is the Christ." This conclusion is supported by the author's preference for Χριστός in the letter,[4] by the use of Χριστός in the formulas expressing his suffering,[5] and by the Christology of the epistle as a whole.

Little more can be said about the *homologia* in I Peter. The prominent emphasis upon the suffering of Christ is intended both to expound a doctrine of the atonement and to encourage a church which was itself suffering persecution. But, though the life situation expressed in the letter is that of persecution, it would be highly conjectural for one to suggest that the *homologia*, if recoverable, had a function in this setting.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 120-122; 45-49.

[2] The suffering is expressed in 1.11; 2.21; 4.1, 13; 5.1; his death in 3.18 (twice).

[3] E.g. 1.3, 21; 3.18, 21; to these may be added the formula concerned with the ascended Christ (3.22).

[4] Of twenty-two instances, thirteen stand alone as a name and/or title, and nine are used with Ἰησοῦς as a name. In contrast κύριος is found eight times, but only once clearly of Jesus and this in the Pauline phrase "our Lord Jesus Christ" (1.3). The word υἱός or παῖς is not used at all of Jesus.

[5] In every instance where his suffering is mentioned, Χριστός is used by itself. This reflects the primitive formula which arose from the early church's apology explaining the suffering of the Messiah to the Jews.

More certain is the conclusion that the credal material incorporated in 3.18-22 is in some way related to baptism, for here is an intermingling of Christological statements (which anticipate the later established creeds) and clear references to the rite.[1] Ἐπερώτημα (3.21) may be taken as a "pledge" or "confirmation" given by the one baptized.[2] Though the relationship between "creed" and baptism may well exist here, the function of the *homologia* must remain uncertain.

D. CONCLUSION

No great amount of new evidence is provided by the Pastoral letters, Hebrews, and I Peter. Since the simple form of the *homologia* is not clearly expressed in them, a certain amount of conjecture is involved in seeking to ascertain precisely what the confession was. It seems clear that the Pauline *homologia* κύριος Ἰησοῦς is not reflected in this literature. On the other hand, the primitive *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, is suggested by the καλὴ ὁμολογία of I Tim. 6.12, 13 and by the thought and vocabulary of I Peter. The bipartite formula expressing the death and resurrection of Jesus is found both in the Pastoral letters and I Peter. The *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, is expressed in Hebrews and is solidly supported by the theology of the letter as a whole.

The absence of simple, primitive formulas in the Pastoral letters and in I Peter is partly compensated for by longer, more-developed forms of a credal or liturgical character. Although these longer pieces are not expressions of the *homologia*, in certain instances (e.g. I Tim. 3.16; I Peter 3.18-22) they may well be later developments of a more primitive form of the Christian *homologia*.

[1] H. Windisch (*Die Katholischen Briefe* [Tübingen, 1951], p. 70) calls 3.18-22 a "vierstrophiges Christuslied . . . das zugleich ein Taufhymnus ist." J. W. C. Wand (*The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* [London, 1934], pp. 99-100) thinks that it may well have been a hymn originally sung at the celebration of baptism.

[2] A. M. Hunter (*IB*, vol. 12, p. 134) suggests that ἐπερώτημα could apply to the Christian's formal "confession" of his faith. On ἐπερώτημα, see G. C. Richards, "I Peter 3.21," *JTS*, 32 (1931), p. 77; Selwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN *HOMOLOGIA*

The following synthesis includes not only a restatement of the more important conclusions reached in the preceding chapters, but also seeks to unify the fragmentation which resulted from considering separately the several groups of New Testament writings. More specifically, an attempt will be made to describe the origin and nature of the primitive Christian *homologia*, to correlate its several forms by considering the development of the *homologia*, and finally to delineate the importance and function of the *homologia* in the life of the early church.

A. THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE *HOMOLOGIA*

The evidence provided above indicates that the *homologia* was an early form of Christian tradition. This conclusion is supported by the New Testament usage of the verb ὁμολογεῖν (as well as its related antonym and its synonyms) which serves to introduce confessional formulas (Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11; Jn. 9.22). The noun ὁμολογία is used to refer to a specific statement of tradition, rather than to the act of confession (I Tim. 6.12, 13; Heb. 4.14; 10.23). Further confirmation for this conclusion is supplied by various syntactical clues, such as the use of the conjunction ὅτι to introduce a statement (Mt. 7.23; Jn. 1.20; Acts 24.14; I Jn. 4.15), the function of the double accusative (Jn. 9.22; Rom. 10.9) or infinitive (Tit. 1.16; I Jn. 4.2 codex B) to express indirect discourse, and the use of relative clauses (Acts 4.10; Rom. 4.24, 25) or participial phrases (Rom. 8.34; Eph. 4.10) to indicate credal material. These constructions in many instances suggest the presence of primitive material, and their occurrence in conjunction with the ὁμολογία-group of words provides a still greater certainty in recovering the form of the *homologia*.

The basic pattern of the earliest *homologia* includes two elements: the naming of Jesus, and the ascription to him of an important title or concept, as χριστός (Jn. 1.20; I Jn. 2.22; 5.1), κύριος (Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11), or υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (Jn. 1.34; I Jn. 4.15). Emphasis is laid on both elements: the mention of the Jesus who lived and died

in the course of history, and the predication of a more than ordinary nature and function expressed by the title ascribed to him. Certain antithetical formulas (as κατὰ σάρκα — κατὰ πνεῦμα, ὁ καταβάς — ὁ ἀναβάς, ὁ ἀποθανών — ὁ ἐγερθείς) embody interpretations or further developments of the basic *homologia*. In such formulas the dual emphasis upon Jesus and Christ (or Jesus and Lord, or Jesus and Son of God) amplifies more explicitly the basic reference to the person and/or work of Jesus contained in the simple *homologia*. The consistency of these patterns enables one to locate and reconstruct the *homologia* in certain other parts of the New Testament which lack the more specific evidence already described.

It is clear that the *homologia* represents the basic core of the Christian faith. This conclusion is supported by the meaning and connotation of ὁμολογία as it was used in the history of the Greek language, where consistently the word refers to that upon which there was concord and a meeting of minds. The use and importance of the brief "confession of faith" in Judaism (the *Shema'* and the shorter εἷς ὁ θεός) lends further support to this feature of the *homologia*. The several parts of the New Testament provide evidence that the *homologia* embodied the essence of the Christian faith regarding the person of Jesus. The place of importance which the *homologia* had in the life of the church further demonstrates that these expressions of faith were significant both in the inner life of the church and in its contact with the outside world. The not infrequent use of πιστεύειν to introduce the *homologia* (e.g. Jn. 20. 31; I Jn. 5.1, 5), as well as the presence of the noun ὁμολογία in such citations (I Tim. 6. 13; Heb. 4.14; 10.23), gives additional support for the conclusion that the formula expressed the heart of Christian belief.

As a distinct form of tradition the *homologia* had its place primarily in the life of the early apostolic church; the gospels, however, disclose that its antecedents are to be sought in the ministry of Jesus. Rather than being a formal declaration of doctrine or belief, the *homologia* in its origin was simply the conviction and belief which the disciples gained from their contact with Jesus (Mk. 8.29; cf. Mt. 14.33; Jn. 1.49). Though the testimony of the demoniacs (Mk. 3.11; Lk. 4.41), the voice of God (Mk. 1.11; 9.7), the opinions of individuals and of the masses (Mt. 12.23; Jn. 7.29, 41) were doubtless suggestive in the formulation of the *homologia* in this incipient stage, predominantly it was the developing realization

of the disciples that their teacher was unique which found expression in a simple declaration of faith. In putting their personal conviction into words, the disciples ascribed to Jesus the loftiest concept known to them, namely Χριστός.

B. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *HOMOLOGIA*

It follows from what was said above that the earliest form of the *homologia* was Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. This conclusion, which differs from the generally held opinion that the earliest confession was "Jesus is Lord," is proved by Peter's confession on the road to Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8.29) and by Jesus' acknowledgment of his person during his trial (Mk. 14.61; 15.2). Further support is provided by the pervasive evidence of the gospels (including John) and the book of Acts, where this basic *homologia* is the sub-auditum in the accounts of both the life of Jesus and the early church. The question of messiahship was critical during the period represented by these books, both in Palestine and in the mission to the Jews of the Diaspora. The preservation in the New Testament (mostly in Acts and Paul) of Χριστός-formulas explaining the death and the resurrection of Jesus (e.g. Acts 4.10; Rom. 4.24, 25; 8.34) suggests the primitiveness of this form of the *homologia* and its significance in the contact of Christianity with Judaism. Historically and logically the question of Jesus' messiahship preceded the question of his lordship or his sonship.

According to the synoptic gospels, during the ministry of Jesus the Χριστός-title indicated that Jesus was the anointed one of God, who had come as King to deliver Israel from her enemies. The *homologia,* therefore, in its origin referred to a conviction regarding the messiahship of Jesus. This primary meaning of the *homologia* is expressed also in the gospel of John, which, though containing features suggesting a deeper meaning, portrays similar circumstances where the messianic question was of utmost importance during the life of Jesus.

It was in the period following the resurrection that the simple *homologia,* Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, was broadened in meaning to express the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus. The synoptic gospels themselves reflect the beginning of this development, most explicitly in Jesus' "interpretation" of Χριστός following Peter's confession, in terms of the suffering and dying Son of man (Mk. 8.31; cf. 9.31; 10.33, 34). Luke-Acts also witnesses

to the belief that according to the Scriptures Christ had to suffer and be raised from the dead and that Jesus was the Christ (Lk. 24. 25-27, 46; Acts 17.2, 3; 18.28). The antithetical formulas mentioned above, especially those expressing the death-resurrection motif, are closely related to the *homologia*, Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. They state explicitly what the *homologia* contains implicitly; to confess Jesus as the Christ meant to acclaim the one who suffered death and who also experienced resurrection.

As the early church expanded geographically and as its faith matured, it was inevitable that the primitive form of the *homologia* should undergo further development. The confession of Jesus as Son of God is one such modification, a form which appears frequently in the gospel and letters of John (e.g. Jn. 1.34; I Jn. 4.15) and also occasionally elsewhere (Acts 9.20; Heb. 4.14). The transition from the earlier form is observable in the circumstance that usually this confession is a variation of (Jn 1.34, 49; 9.20, 22) or stands in apposition to (Mt. 16.16; Mk. 14.61; Jn. 11.27; 20.31) the *Christos-homologia*. Furthermore, the literature which most frequently expresses this form (the gospel and letters of John; the letter to the Hebrews) likewise reflects a basic concern for the confession of Jesus as the Christ. Ultimately the *homologia*, "Jesus is the Son of God," came to express those convictions which the church had gained in the course of its developing life, namely that Jesus is the unique Son of the Father, that he was with the Father from the beginning, and that he is the only mediator between God and man.

In the letters of Paul the primitive Christian *homologia* is κύριος Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus is Lord" (Rom. 10.9; Phil. 2.11; I Cor. 12.3); the remainder of the New Testament does not significantly reflect this form (see however Acts 11.20). In the Aramaic-speaking Christian community Jesus was addressed as "Lord" (cf. *Marana tha*, I Cor. 16.22), and the faith expressed by this confession was essentially identical with the post-resurrection understanding of the Christ-formula: it was *Jesus*, the person who lived and died in the course of history, who is *Lord* of the Christian and of the church by virtue of his resurrection from the dead. The *kyrios-homologia*, in contrast with the *Christos-homologia*, had especial significance for Gentile Christians, and it came to be broadened and enriched in meaning to designate Jesus, the risen Lord, as the true *kyrios* among many other lords, the Lord of the Christian servant (δοῦλος),

the Lord of the assembled congregation, and, indeed, the Lord of all.

The form of the *homologia* underwent certain modification in the expanding early church because of new and challenging audiences, because of the maturing and crystallization of conviction concerning the person of Jesus, and because of the pressures of conflict and opposition which sometimes necessitated the finding of new vehicles of confessional expression. Yet both elements in the primitive *homologia*—the reference to the Jesus who lived in history and to the One who had gained new authority by his resurrection—remained constant. Both were important and both were emphasized, even though on occasion it was necessary to clarify the inherent meaning. This John did, for example, when he made it clear that Jesus was the Christ, but Christ as come in the flesh (I Jn. 4.2; II Jn. 7). Likewise the double formulas themselves are to be understood as expansions of the basic *homologia*. Indeed, it may be suggested that further elaboration of the first element of the *homologia* ultimately resulted in the composition of the gospels. The beginnings of this process are seen in the definitive formula, "Christ come in the flesh" (I Jn. 4.2; 5.6; II Jn. 7), and in the pervasive concern of the gospel of John to authenticate the incarnation (Jn. 1.14; cf. Ign. *Tral.* 9.1; *Smy.* 1-3).

C. THE FUNCTION OF THE *HOMOLOGIA*

The primitive Christian *homologia* served important functions in the life of the early church, relating to the inner life of the community as well as the world outside. The confession of Jesus as the Christ was in the first instance a personal declaration of faith, expressed by Peter (Mk. 8.29) and other members of the early church (Jn. 20.31; I Jn. 5.1, 5). In representing the heart of the Christian faith the *homologia* served the function of promoting and preserving faithfulness in times of difficulty (Heb. 4.15; 10.23). In the life of the church the declaration of one's faith had a place at the admittance of new members, either in the instruction of catechumens preceding the ceremony of baptism or in connection with the rite itself. The *homologia* therefore was closely related to or served as the basis for the *didache* of the church (Col. 2.6, 7; II Jn. 7-9) and as the verbal assent of faith at the time of baptism (Acts 8.37, *v.l.*; cf. Rom. 10.9; I Tim. 6.12; II Tim. 2.2; I Pet. 3.18-22). The evidence also suggests that in all likelihood the *homologia* was used in the exorcism of evil spirits, a ceremony in which Christians

called upon the name of Jesus as Christ or Lord (Acts 3.6; 4.10). As an acclamation the *homologia* found expression in the worship of the early Christian congregation, being utilized in the liturgy and/or hymnody of the church (Phil. 2.5-11; cf. Jn. 20.19-28). Here believers unitedly confessed their faith in Jesus as Lord (I Cor. 12.3) or as Christ (I Jn. 4.2), and expressed praise and worship in a manner similar to the traditional service of the synagogue when the *Shema'* was recited.

The *homologia*, thus having a place of importance as the succinct expression of Christian faith, subsequently served as the basis for the developing creeds of the church, when the simple confession of Jesus as Christ (or Lord or Son of God) was expanded into more formal, articulate, and complete statements concerning his person and work. The beginnings of this process are discernable in the New Testament, where the simple Christological confession is enlarged (I Cor. 15.3-5; Rom. 1.3, 4; Phil. 2.5-11; I Pet. 3. 18-22; I Tim. 3.16), the two-article formula is frequently expressed (I Cor. 8.5, 6; Eph. 4.5; I Tim. 2.5; cf. Acts 2.36; 4.10), and the three-article creed is occasionally suggested (II Cor. 13.14; Rom. 1.3, 4).

Equally significant was the importance of the *homologia* in the church's contacts with an unbelieving world. Probably a primary function of the *homologia* in this regard was its place in the kerygmatic activity of the early church while seeking to bring non-Christians to a similar faith. The primitive confession served as the basic core of the proclamation (Rom. 10.8, 9; II Cor. 4.5; Acts 5.42; cf. II Tim. 2.8), wherein the *Christos-homologia* had relevance for a Jewish audience (Acts 9.20-22; 17.3; 18.5) and the *kyrios-homologia* had meaning primarily for a Hellenistic audience (Acts 11.20). Even in the later and more highly developed *kerygma*, the *homologia* continued to be of importance by serving as an integral part of its content (Rom. 1.1-3; I Cor. 15.3-5).

At times the emphasis was shifted from *kerygma* to *apologia*, and, although a sharp difference between the two cannot be maintained, the basic message expressed by the *homologia* served more often to defend Christian conviction than to win converts. This apologetic activity is seen most clearly in the contact of the church with Judaism, when the Christians attempted to show from the Scriptures that the Christ had to suffer and to be raised, and that Jesus, who fulfilled these prophecies, was the Christ (Acts 17.2-3; 18.28; cf. 9.22; 26.22, 23).

In still other instances the *homologia* was the standard or norm for the true faith, and was used polemically to combat false ideas or heretical movements, such as the denial of the resurrection (I Cor. 15.3-5), the neglect or denial of the incarnation (I Jn. 4.2-3; II Jn. 7), the Jewish refusal to accept Jesus as the messiah (Acts 2.36; 4.9-11), and even the rejection of the *homologia* itself (I Jn. 2.22). The developing church placed ever greater emphasis upon the *homologia* and the need to express or adhere to it (I Jn. 2.18-23; Heb. 4.14; 10.23). Occasionally the formula was expanded to give a still clearer expression of its underlying meaning (Acts 17.3; I Jn. 4.3; 5.6; II Jn. 7).

In time of conflict and persecution the *homologia* was the open declaration by which the Christian professed his relationship to Jesus Christ and the church (cf. Mt. 10.32, 33). This function of the confession found its prototype in the profession made by Jesus concerning his own person during his trial (Mk. 14.61, 62; 15.2; I Tim. 6.13). The *Christos-homologia* had particular relevance when hostility arose from Jewish or quasi-Jewish concerns (I Jn. 2.22, 23; 4.1-3; Jn. 9.22; I Cor. 12.3), while the *kyrios-homologia* had particular meaning before a pagan audience (cf. I Cor. 12.3; Acts 17.7; Mar. Poly. 8.2; 9.2; 10.1; 12.1). In later times the distinction was made between the ὁμολογήτης, who confessed but did not suffer martydom (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.12; Eus. *His. Ec.* 5.28), and the μάρτυς, who confessed and died for his testimony (Mar. Poly. 2.2; 14.2; 15.2); but both alike declared the *homologia* before their enemies.

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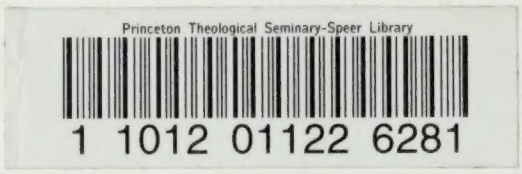

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